

Africa Digest

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SECRETARY: *Miss Jane Symonds.*



CENTRAL AFRICA The Federation

Commons Debate on Electoral Bill¹

ON a motion for the adjournment in the House of Commons (*Hansard*, February 18, 1958), the British Government indicated its support for the Federal Electoral Bill, despite the report of the African Affairs Board that it was a discriminatory measure. In a division at the end of the debate the Opposition recorded 256 votes to the Government's 305.

Opening the debate Mr. A. Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary, said that under the terms of the Bill there would in Southern Rhodesia be an African electorate which could include between 20,000 and 30,000 instead of 1,000, while in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland between 20,000 and 30,000 Africans would for the first time be entitled to direct participation in the election of their representatives. He denied that any assurance had been given in 1953 that any additional African members would be elected in the way originally laid down in the Constitution or that the method of electing African members would remain unchanged. He said that there was no breach of faith on the part of the U.K. Government in giving their approval to an alteration in the electoral system.

Leading for the Opposition, Mr. A. Creech Jones, said: "The Federation Parliament holds the key to future changes in the franchise. It should not be forgotten when considering a Chamber where the largest element comes from Southern Rhodesia, that it was in Southern Rhodesia that the qualifications for the franchise were raised only a year or two ago in such a way as to make it almost prohibitive for the Africans to engage in the political life of the Colony. I submit that a constitutional and electoral set-up such as this is, in practice, neither partnership nor non-discriminatory. . . .

"It is no good asking that we should rely on the good sense of the Europeans in the days to come. Power corrupts; that is evident in the crisis in Southern Rhodesia of the last week or so. It is evidenced in the whole story of the Union of South Africa in recent years. We cannot trust people to do things which are our responsibility. Therefore, I think it unfortunate that we have had no indication from the Government as to the lines along which Africans should go in the Federation. Nor have we had any indication as to what the Government conceive should be the objective of the Federation. Are they prepared to give encouragement to the idea of the establishment of political democracy, or do they want what they call multi-racial government—multi-racial government for partnership, which is a perfectly meaningless term."

Mr. Dingle Foot (Labour) pointed out that the qualification of literacy and an adequate knowledge of English were not expected in West Africa and indeed had not been expected until recently among the electorate of Great Britain.

Mr. A. G. Bottomley (Labour) said: "What is happening in the Federation is not a franchise for democracy, but a franchise for plutocracy."

Major Patrick Wall (Conservative) said the fixing of the franchise qualifications at £720 per annum had been "done deliberately, with an eye to the future. If the economy of the Federation increases, and the standard of living of the Africans increases, as we hope it will in the future, many Africans will reach that qualification and will vote on the general roll. But

¹DIGEST V, 4.

if the qualification is lowered now, the roll could well be swamped by Africans in the immediate future, which, I suggest, would be to the detriment of the whole Federation." He added that the Bill could be assumed to be differentiating, "but its assets far outweigh its defects," and said that "the reason one could not hope for a more liberal franchise was fear of electoral defeat by the Government of the Federation and of a more reactionary European party taking over. That is a very justifiable fear."

Replying to the debate, Mr. C. J. M. Alport, Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said: "... there is no question of this being a final decision, although I agree that, now the transitional period of the electoral system has been bridged, there may be strong arguments for trying to ensure that this particular development on a common roll basis proceeds naturally and gradually to develop over the period ahead. It is wrong, therefore, to give the impression that something done now will stamp an impression of a pattern of constitutional power and constitutional development indefinitely upon the Federation."

Controversy Surrounding Electoral Bill

Churches and Organizations

The international department of the British Council of Churches stated in a letter to the Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, Lord Home, that it regarded the bringing forward of the Electoral Bill of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland with the greatest disquiet.

In the course of his reply Lord Home said: "You represent as a widespread African view that the African Affairs Board 'is very gravely imperilled by the new proposals, since as a result of them it will probably be elected mainly by those who are responsible to predominantly European constituencies'. This seems to be a theoretical rather than a practical possibility." (*The Times*, February 18, 1958.)

The Livingstonia Joint Council, composed of representatives of the Church of Scotland Mission and of the Synod of Livingstonia of the Church of Central Africa, Presbyterian, in the Northern Province of Nyasaland issued a statement asking the House of Commons, after consideration, to uphold the African Affairs Board's objection.

A letter to the *Manchester Guardian* (February 18, 1958) signed by L. Lubowa, Uganda Association; O. S. Kambona, Tanganyika Students' Association; M. C. Mainza, South African Students' Association; A. K. Mayanja, Uganda National Congress; S. K. Karimi and Mwai Kibaki, Kenya Students' Association; A. Bashorun, West African Students' Union; Theo Iwajomo, Nigerian Union of Great Britain and Ireland; O. E. Chirwa, East and Central African Students' Study Circle, said: "Because we see the *apartheid* policy of South Africa coming a step farther north with the passage of this Electoral Bill, we, who come from all parts of British Colonial Africa, have joined together to oppose it; but fundamentally we stand against the acts which imposed federation on the people in spite of their protests."

The Press

The *Manchester Guardian* (February 12, 1958) said that the Bill would weaken African influence in the Federal election. As an alternative, it would surely be practicable to enact simply that the members of the enlarged Assembly should be elected—on this occasion—in the same way as the corresponding members of the present Assembly. This election over, the whole future of the franchise could be thought out again, in connexion with the general review of the Constitution, which is expected in 1960. It is believed that this would, as a temporary measure, satisfy the African Affairs Board; and it would certainly free the British Government from

any charge of a breach of the undertaking that no major change in the Constitution should be made before 1960. Delaying measures are often imprudent. But would anything be lost by this delay?"

The *Observer* (February 16, 1958) said that if the Government again overrules the Board's objection, the African Affairs Board's safeguarding function will have been reduced to a farce. The *News Chronicle* (February 18, 1958) commented: "This measure will strengthen the grip of the European minority in the Central African Federation. But what is far more important than the details of a complicated measure is the fact that the rejection of the Bill has come to be regarded as a test of European good faith. . . . Quite apart from moral considerations, its passage will, in the long run, endanger European interests. It is natural that most of the white minority, involved in the complications of Africa, should find this hard to understand. But if the Commons endorses the Bill it will be striking at the future of the Federation, which depends on racial co-operation."

In defence of the Bill, Lord Hastings (*Sunday Times*, February 16, 1958) said: "The Electoral Bill will have the immediate effect of giving the vote to approximately a hundred times as many Africans as have voted hitherto. The most startling increase, numerically speaking, will be in Southern Rhodesia because of the generally higher level of living standards which have been reached there. The Nyasaland Africans will find that, in addition to the old way of indirect election whereby only a handful of men voted for two candidates, some 7,000 of them can now qualify to cast a secret vote for candidates of their own direct choice."

"Besides enfranchising thousands of new African voters, the Bill also doubles the number of African M.P.s who will in future play their part in the Federal Assembly. It is of vital importance for the emergence of a healthy democracy in the Federation that there should be enough Africans with a genuine and intimate knowledge of the actual workings of the parliamentary machine."

The *Times* (February 18, 1958) said the Bill had considerable positive merits. "By turning its back on any extension of the communal principle, it keeps in sight the acknowledged goal of constitutional progress in the Federation, which is to build up a nation in which difference of race shall become—after many years, no doubt—politically irrelevant. The policy is the direct antithesis of the *apartheid* of the Union: it works toward integration, not segregation."

"There are other liberal features in the Bill: notably the extension of citizenship rights to British-protected persons, the enfranchisement of women and the provision that the qualification of a husband without further requirement covers his wife, or principal wife if he has more than one."

Visit of Rev. A. Doig

The Rev. A. Doig, Federal M.P. representing the interests of Africans in Nyasaland, and a member of the African Affairs Board, came to London to urge the Government to reject the Bill. Mr. Doig said the Bill would involve a breach of faith and bring about unjust differentiation that will make still more difficult the proposed constitutional review in 1960–62 by intensifying the racial approach now.

"The Constitution produced in 1953 should not be amended without the agreement of all the parties at a review conference. There is no urgency to make these electoral changes without such a conference. The effect of the new Bill, if it becomes law, will be to lessen African influence in the election of their own members, thus violating a principle that those in power should never use that power to reduce the influence of those already insufficiently represented."

He estimated that African control will be reduced to about 30 per cent in Nyasaland and 50 per cent in Northern Rhodesia. The income and property clauses in the general roll qualification mean that few Africans will be on it. Having lost their influence in electing their own members, they will have no proportionate gain in influence on the general list of candidates.

He made the point that the timing of the new Bill was, in the opinion of a majority of the African Affairs Board, all wrong. It came at a moment when the Federation was in desperate need of a period of constitutional stability—a stability that had already been badly shaken by the British Government's decision to ignore the judgement of the Board and to

approve the Constitution Amendment Bill. (*Manchester Guardian*, February 5, 1958.)

In a letter to *The Times* (February 18, 1958) Mr. Doig asked: "What justification can the Government offer for altering in face of African opposition the system of communal representation laid down in the constitution and guaranteed to the Africans in the northern territories, a system that would develop to allow the participation of many more Africans than now to be enfranchised under the Federal proposals and without the decisive limitations on African influence that will be exercised by the participation of so many non-Africans on the special roll?"

"Since most of the representatives for African interests will be responsible to a common roll predominately European and subject to party discipline, the Africans on the African Affairs Board are likely to be from this group. Will this not ensure acquiescence by the Board in any proposals for the future?"

Africa Bureau Views

A delegation from the Africa Bureau—including Mr. A. Creech Jones, Mr. Peter Calvocoressi, Mrs. Grimond and the Rev. Michael Scott—saw the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Lord Home, with a request that the Government should not approve the Electoral Bill.

An Africa Bureau statement called on the Government to give a "precise reply" to Sir John Moffat's declaration that to pass the Bill would break promises made by individuals and Governments at the Federation Conference of 1953, and asked: "Did the British Government as the chief participant in the discussions in 1953 anticipate that major changes on the scale of those now proposed would be sought by any Federal Government before 1960?"

"If it was recognized that it was within the competence of the Federal Government to seek such changes why then were those representing the territories of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland asked to give sweeping reassurances to the African people about the safeguards offered to them in the new constitution?"

Unscrambling the Federation

Writing to the *Spectator* (January 24, 1958) Commander T. Fox Pitt, formerly a Provincial Commissioner in Northern Rhodesia, said: "Each Territory has a Civil Service and the Federal Civil Servants could easily be redistributed to make up the numbers needed. . . . Each Territory could quickly revert to the collection of its own revenue. Joint economic enterprises, like the Kariba hydro-electric power scheme and the railways, could be run by statutory boards with members responsible to the three independent Territorial Governments."

"Would the climate for investment suffer? The tension between Europeans and Africans that has grown since Federation was imposed against all articulate African opinion would relax. Africans in the Protectorates would see their way clear ahead for equal citizenship and would be content to build up steadily a heritage of prosperity in which they would share. The Africans in Southern Rhodesia would retain their recently acquired political ambitions, but would not lose the urge for material advance that has made them easy to direct and lead as long as their standards of living were rising. As long as they saw no tendency on the part of the settlers to look to the Union of South Africa for policy or political alliance they would advance without revolution at a deliberate pace."

"Remember that there has been no move towards a single Federal nationality for the African people. Their movements from one territory to another have been controlled by permits. Their political and trade union leaders have been denied inter-Territorial movement. Where they have made common cause it has been against the wishes of the Governments. Asians have been denied free movement. The Europeans of the North have been annoyed by the way the Southerners have monopolized political power. The South has been ready to draw revenue from the Northerners while treating their representatives with friendly contempt. Welensky, Owen and Barrow are the only Cabinet Ministers from the Protectorates."

In reply to Commander Fox-Pitt, Mr. G. H. Baxter pointed out the economic advantages of Federation to Nyasaland and continued: "It is only the backward-looking whose conception of African 'advancement' consists of drafting into legislatures increasing numbers of the small

minority of politically articulate Africans. A true concern for the Africans points rather to better and more widely spread education, housing, health facilities, and opportunities for more diversified employment, so that increasingly more Africans can play their part in the community as citizens and operate, alongside the Europeans, the institutions of representative governments. Such measures are costly; and every country in the world where the population includes a large element with low economic productivity finds the burden severe, and is liable to make but slow progress. In Central Africa, federation has brought a great inflow of capital, based on confidence in the Federation's future, which is cumulatively providing the resources. It is a long haul, but it is well under way." (*Spectator*, February 7, 1958.)

Lord Tweedsmuir (*The Times*, February 6, 1958) wrote that to unscramble the Federation would be an act of extreme irresponsibility and a betrayal of our trust for the well-being and interest, not of the few politically articulate Africans, but of the millions of simple folk in the villages. Dismemberment of the Federation into one white and two or more black States would be a classic exercise in *apartheid*. It would also probably doom Nyasaland, for which in the foreseeable future there is not in sight any comparable means of improving its resources, to a relapse into stagnation, with no prospect of any but slow advance in education or living standards.

In a statement on the crisis in Southern Rhodesia, Mr. W. Manoh Chirwa, African Federal M.P. for Nyasaland, said: "Events have proved the African people right and the British Government must now accept the inevitable and unscramble the Central African Federation, thereby saving the souls of seven million Africans from being enslaved by the illiberal European forces which are gathering momentum in Central Africa. The position in Central Africa is now comparable to that which obtained in South Africa prior to the act of Union and Britain had been made to believe that the Cape liberalism would prevail, but events have proved that that was a mistake. White settlers in Central Africa are set upon a path of white domination and unless they are halted now, the future of Central Africa is gloomy and history will repeat itself. Britain does not seem to learn a lesson from her past colonial history and administration of a multi-racial community in South Africa.

"The British Government should realize that unless they refrain from granting any more powers to the White Settlers in Central Africa, they are virtually helping the European reactionary forces to overthrow liberal elements which are at present in a very small minority. People in Britain should remember that the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, is not regarded as being liberal by the African people over whom he has no influence whatsoever. On the other hand, Mr. Garfield Todd, although he has committed acts which have been regarded as being undemocratic and illiberal by the African people, is still regarded by them as a 'better devil' than Sir Roy Welensky who is a great champion of white domination and thus holds the Africans in great contempt and dislike.

"The fact of the matter is that since the advent of federation, race relations have deteriorated in Central Africa and unless Britain takes steps to unscramble the Central African Federation now, it is inevitable that a conflict of the greatest magnitude between white and black will take place sooner or later whose effects will be felt far beyond the borders of the continent of Africa and would undoubtedly endanger relationships between white and non-white members of the Commonwealth. Britain is the only country at the moment that has power to save Central Africa from a catastrophic clash which is threatening black and white communities and unless she takes action immediately to remedy the situation, it will be far too late to apply effective remedial measures in the future. Time is running short."

Talk of "unscrambling" the Federation was causing incalculable harm to Nyasaland, Sir Malcolm Barrow, Federal Minister of Home Affairs, and one of the Territory's Members of Parliament, said at a public meeting in Limbe. These references to unscrambling had been made not only by people within the Federation who obviously did not appreciate the implications, but by people overseas, some of whom had demonstrated their unfitness to express views on Federal matters by publicly exposing their appalling ignorance of the Federation and its problems.

Nyasaland would have no future outside the Rhodesian Federation. People who talked glibly of "unscrambling" should think of the alterna-

tives. Alone, Nyasaland would have to depend on British subsidies if its people were to raise their living standard. An alternative link with Tanganyika would not help, for Tanganyika was even more undeveloped than Nyasaland.

Sir Malcolm said the Federal Government shared the Territorial Government's view that now was not the right time to go further with the scheme to make non-African agriculture a Federal responsibility. He said it had been decided to defer consideration of the proposal for a year. (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 8, 1958.)

Mr. Harry Hynd, British Labour M.P., on a visit to Nyasaland told the *Nyasaland Times* that from what he had seen he had gained the impression that a great deal was being done in Nyasaland to speed African development in many different spheres and much of this development was being paid for by the Federal Government.

"Nyasaland needs Federation, I think," continued Mr. Hynd, "if it is to develop fully. In fact, from what I have seen and studied of this country I would say that federation is essential to it. All races should get down to the primary task of making the economics of it work—politics can follow later at their own pace, and that pace should not be artificially increased. That is why I say 'slow but sure' is a good motto for Nyasaland politics and politicians." (*Federation Newsletter*, January 25, 1958.)

Mr. Guy Van Eeden, Federal M.P., outlining the policy of the Dominion Party of which he is chairman in Northern Rhodesia, said: "We feel that the key to the whole situation may lie in Nyasaland, and that success or failure may depend largely on whether or not that territory can be integrated into an independence constitution in such a fashion that the fears of the Africans there are allayed.

"It is rather futile to speak of one identical independence constitution embracing the whole Federation, to the satisfaction of all concerned. Conditions differ widely in different parts of the Federation. The biggest contrast lies between Southern Rhodesia, for over thirty years a self-governing colony, and Nyasaland, which might be termed an African protectorate of the first water. Northern Rhodesia (though technically a protectorate) is, by reason of its considerable European population (80,000) and consequent development industrially and agriculturally, ripe for responsible government, as well as being politically and historically much more identifiable with Southern Rhodesia than Nyasaland is likely to be for a long time to come.

"A feasible solution would be to fashion a special place for Nyasaland within the Dominion that is to be created—that of a protectorate within a Dominion. Lack of space makes it impossible to go into exact detail, but it can be pointed out that an arrangement similar to this already applies to Barotseland, which has always been a protectorate within a protectorate (Northern Rhodesia), and where a large measure of local autonomy has been enjoyed by the Government of the Paramount Chief of Barotseland." (*Central African Examiner*, February 1, 1958.)

Retrenchment Measures¹

Federal—In 1957 payments for imports and other overseas services rendered to the Federation rose to a record high level while export receipts fell sharply. During the year the price of copper fell from £267 to £182 per ton and has since fallen to £163. Preliminary estimates indicate that, during the year, the total sterling reserves of the Federation fell by £47 million. At the end of the year these reserves totalled approximately £100 million. This figure is substantial and is equal to four and a half months' overseas payments at the average rate of such payments in 1957. Nevertheless £30 million of the total loss of £47 million occurred during the last quarter of 1957 and if the drain on reserves were to continue at the same rate the position could easily become dangerous.

The current drain on sterling resources cannot be allowed to continue without endangering the ability of the Federation to exist as an independent economic unit. Therefore the Government has decided that curbs should be applied to the level of bill finance and bank advances—particularly those which are made for the purpose of financing imports—and that the terms on which hire-purchase transactions are conducted should be made such as to discourage purchasers and so reduce the demand for imported goods. The Government is keeping the position under constant review and

¹For Nyasaland cuts see DIGEST V, 4.

will not hesitate to resort to further measures if these should appear to be necessary.

A warning that what happens in the United States—where “they have now officially admitted that they are in recession”—has a profound effect on the Federation, was given by Mr. A. P. Graftey-Smith, Governor of the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. He said: “. . . whether we like it or not, the actions of this colossus have a profound effect upon us all here. They have now officially admitted that they are in recession. They are in the process of taking steps to climb out of it, and all of us must earnestly hope that they succeed. In the banking sphere they have recently cut the official reserve requirements, making available more lendable money, but what is troubling them is the shortage of borrowers. You will agree that nothing points more clearly the difference between our two countries.” (*Federation Newsletter*, March 14, 1958.)

Southern Rhodesia to Make Economies.—The Southern Rhodesia Government is to introduce a “go-slow” spending policy. Economies are to be made in the two main fields of Government activity—administrative and development services. But orderly, planned development will continue. The then Minister of the Treasury, Mr. A. E. Abrahamson, said that in the light of the present situation in the Federation, largely induced by a world-wide falling of commodity prices, particularly copper, the Southern Rhodesia Government deemed it necessary to institute changes directed towards greater efficiency and economy throughout the Southern Rhodesia Government service.

Northern Rhodesia.—Further cuts in Government spending were announced by Northern Rhodesia's Financial Secretary, Mr. Ralph Nicholson. He said that these economy measures were only a beginning, and applied to this financial year when the impact of the copper situation on revenue had been comparatively small compared to future years. Mr. Nicholson warned that 1959 would be a difficult year for the Territory, but said that because of action taken in the past the Government was in a much better state to meet the difficulties caused by the present low copper price than would otherwise have been the case. In November last year the Government announced its intention to cut spending by £750,000 during the current financial year and that the target has now been increased to at least £850,000. (*Federal Newsletter*, February 7 and 14, 1958.)

The Federal Prime Minister and the Crisis

Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister, asked for his comments on the crisis in Southern Rhodesia at a public meeting in Harari African Township in Salisbury, said: “I have no power and no authority to intervene in a territorial matter.”

Later and before the Party Congress was held he said in a speech at Broken Hill, Northern Rhodesia: “There is no difference of opinion in regard to policy. The policy of the party and the Government remains inviolate . . . to give the impression, as there are many who would like to do and who constantly endeavour to do, that the issue of liberalism is at stake, is just not in accordance with the facts.

“But more than that, it would stimulate the efforts of those, both here and abroad, who already choose to blind themselves to anything that is done by the Europeans in this country to further the progress of the Africans.” (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 20 and 25, 1958.)

Previously the *Central African Post* (January 13, 1958) had commented: “It is the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, who might well hold the key to the present constitutional crisis in Southern Rhodesia. . . . He has so far kept silent on the crisis but he could—and probably will when the time is right—let the country know whether the United Federal Party in its broadest sense is behind Mr. Todd or the ‘rebels’.

“If it transpires that the consensus of opinion throughout the Party is that Mr. Todd's so-called ultra-liberalism is a danger to the Party's chances of winning the elections, or that he is not a capable leader, Mr. Todd is unlikely to remain at the Southern Rhodesian helm much longer.”

After receiving a report that Sir Roy had made an attempt to have the Party Congress postponed a week, the *Rhodesia Herald* (January 29, 1958) said: “He would be displaying a peculiar disinterest as the national Premier and national president of the party if he did not try to influence the Southern Rhodesian dispute toward the outcome which, in his opinion, would result in the least damage.”

Commenting on the Congress itself, the *Manchester Guardian* (February 10, 1958) said: “Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, has ostentatiously avoided intervening in what he considers to be a territorial matter. But the affair must have caused him great anxiety. The defeat of Mr. Todd may for the time being ease his position in Central Africa. He knows that it will seriously weaken him at Westminster, both now and in 1960 when a general review of the Federal Constitution is due.”

Medical School Recommended

The committee of United Kingdom experts appointed to investigate the desirability of establishing a medical school in the Federation has recommended that one should be set up at a cost of £1 million as part of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The committee said that the school, which should have an annual intake of twenty-five students and whose running costs would be £25,000 a year, should be started as soon as possible, as it would be ten years before the first students could qualify as doctors. The committee recommended that the main teaching hospital should be the new hospital for Africans recently opened at Harari, in Salisbury. (*Manchester Guardian*, January 22, 1958.)

The Government of India has made available for students of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland one post-graduate scholarship each year, tenable at a university or research institution in India. These will be the first scholarships for study overseas to be awarded exclusively to students of the college, whatever their race.

Public Opinion and Goodwill

Professor Roger Wilson wrote in *The Times* (February 26, 1958) to comment on a letter from Baron Bentinck (February 17, 1958) who had called attention to the need for retaining the goodwill of the European electorate, “because without that goodwill any attempt to create an harmonious multi-racial society is doomed to failure”. Professor Wilson said: “This is true but it is only half the truth. The other half is that the goodwill of seven million Africans, whether electors or not, has yet to be won for the Federation, but is on the verge of being lost to the British Parliament. How to keep both lots of goodwill is the terrible dilemma that faces the British Government and those who influence governments in this country.

“When I was in the Federation last summer, one of the most powerful points made by my African former students and their friends was that when liberal Europeans talk about ‘public opinion’ the unspoken assumption is that this is European public opinion. Because Africans have few votes, little money, and no power, their public opinion is forgotten. It is this bland failure to take African public opinion seriously that lies at the root of the uneasiness of people like myself; there is a huge gap between the outlook of the majority of Europeans and the fears of Africans, which the Federation Government and its British supporters appear generally to ignore.”

Prime Minister at African Meeting

The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, promised a Harare meeting that he would investigate a questioner's allegation that target dummies used by the Federal Defence Forces were named after African leaders. “If that is so I will see that it does not happen again,” he said. Sir Roy was asked by Mr. J. R. D. Chikerema why a recent defence exercise, at which the dummies were used, had had as its task the quelling of an imaginary riot at Harare. The Prime Minister pointed out that it was common practice throughout the world for defence forces to name a particular locality for exercises. (*Central African Post*, January 27, 1958.)

The *Central African Examiner* (February 1, 1958) commented that there were 600 Africans present and said “This important meeting did less than no good. Africans came away with the feeling that Sir Roy was basically an evasive politician, and that is hardly any step at all from thinking a man insincere. . . . His answers to complaints about the present franchise, pleas for universal suffrage and equal pay for equal work—were no more satisfactory than could be expected. Having prefaced his opening remarks by saying that he came to meet his audience ‘on common ground and on a fifty-fifty basis’, it was tactless to tell them immediately afterwards that they ‘didn't fully understand’ the federal franchise, when his audience to a

man was certain that, at any rate, they understood enough to dislike it. . . .

"If Sir Roy dismisses the opinions expressed (and those who expressed them) as merely Congress 'extremists', he will be unwise; for the mood was well representative of urban African opinion. Perhaps Sir Roy will recognize this and recognize also that a round-table talk with a few representative Africans (not just the U.F.P. branch members) will prove more fruitful than a series of large open meetings, accompanied by the inevitable heckling and gallery-playing."

Northern Rhodesia

Plans for Independence

THE Member for Lands and Local Government, Mr. John Roberts said: "The main object of the Federal Party during 1958 will be the removal of certain subjects from the forum of the House of Commons and by constitutional reforms to attain a fair measure of responsible government for Northern Rhodesia."

The next most important aim would be the winning of the next territorial general election. (*Central African Post*, January 6, 1958.)

Mr. G. F. M. van Eeden, territorial chairman of the Dominion Party, said that the party would ask that constitutional progress for Northern Rhodesia should be discussed at the same time as the review of the Federation's constitution in 1960.

He said that changes in the past were never in favour of the European, and much better results would be obtained for Northern Rhodesia if the whole Federation's pressure could be brought to bear in the 1960 constitutional review. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 18, 1958.)

Proposals for Constitutional Reform

Mr. Pascale Sokota, an African representative member of the Legislative Council in Northern Rhodesia, said in London that there would soon be African members of the territory's Executive Council. He said he had been promised this by Mr. Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies. At present, the Executive Council consists of the Governor, a European representing African interests, three unofficial European representatives and five *ex-officio* members, all of whom are Europeans.

Mr. Sokota said that he had been sent to Britain to ensure that the moderate proposals for constitutional reform made by the Africans were put to the Secretary of State in person. "Africans throughout Northern Rhodesia have become alarmed at the apparent intention of the Governor to submit proposals to the Secretary of State for the Colonies which would be acceptable to the settlers rather than to the Africans of the territory," he said. "We feel that the Protectorate Government is paying more attention to the wishes of the European than it is to our wishes."

Africans are asking for parity of representation in the Executive Council, but they have not been promised this. The other proposal put forward by Mr. Sokota, about which he has been given no guarantees, is that there should be parity in the Legislative Council, which would mean twelve elected seats for Africans instead of the four Africans at present chosen by the African Representative Council, with European representation remaining at twelve as at present and official members holding the balance. His statement also said that there is reason to think that the Governor will be putting forward an electoral scheme which closely follows that introduced in the Federal Parliament. The proposal for parity, Mr. Sokota said is less than the demand of the majority of Africans, "but we believe that, providing it is granted without other terms added that favour Europeans, it might find acceptance among Africans as a whole. It will be too late if these proposals or something very similar to them are not accepted by Her Majesty's Government now. So great is the fear of the African people that European settlers will dominate them in the way that Africans in Southern Rhodesia have been dominated, that it will be impossible for us as their representatives to ask for less than an all-out grant of political rights to Africans in proportion to their numbers."

In a letter to the Governor (January 24, 1958) signed by Mr. H. Nkumbula, the President-General and Mr. K. Kaunda, the Secretary-

General, the proposals of the African National Congress for constitutional reform were put forward as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| <i>Legislature</i> | (a) A speaker to be appointed by the Governor in Council. |
| | (b) Thirty-five Elected Members, fourteen of whom will be exclusively for the minority (non-African) Groups. |
| | (c) Seven <i>ex-officio</i> and nominated members. |
| <i>Executive Council</i> | (a) The Governor as President. |
| | (b) Three African elected members. |
| | (c) Three <i>ex-officio</i> members. |
| | (d) Three European elected members. |

All members shall be portfolio holders.

Franchise.—Universal adult franchise. The fact that reserved seats for minority groups exist will remove the danger of their being swamped by Africans.

The letter comments: "We submit that the time will be overdue by the end of 1964 for self-government for N. Rhodesia . . ." It ends: "Proposals similar to the Federal franchise and the attempts which are being made to thwart the healthy political advancement of the Africans by technicalities of a qualified franchise will leave hundreds of thousands of Africans without a vote. Naturally, these will organize propaganda campaigns against the privileged few, which will create an atmosphere of unrest in the Protectorate—an atmosphere which is bound to embarrass the Government of the day and plant fear in the mind of the minorities. In such a situation it is idle and absolutely mischievous to talk about building a healthy and sound multi-racial society."

Copper Mine Closed

The Bancroft Copper Mine, controlled by the Anglo-American group of mining companies, ceased production. In view of market conditions, it was decided to reduce the output of the group by 27,000 tons in the current year, i.e. 10 per cent of planned production.

The mine employed 600 Europeans and about 4,600 Africans. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 29, 1958.)

The Government proposed to use some of the labour available in the provinces on development schemes and to allocate £3 million for this purpose, some of which will come from the £2 million grant made by the Rhodesian Selection Trust for road development.

The plans include: three hydro-electric stations at Fort Rosebery, Abercorn and Kasama, afforestation of huge tracts of land, improvement of communications, development of Mpulungu Port near Abercorn at the southern tip of Lake Tanganyika, the intensive development of the fishing industry on productive Lake Bangweulu.

"It is rather fortunate this programme is coming up and will be gathering momentum at the end of the year," said Mr. John Roberts, Member for Lands and Local Government. He said he had had talks with Mr. Lawrence Katilungu, president of the African Mineworkers' Union, on these lines and left him "much encouraged" about the future of the repatriated miners in the Northern Provinces. If there was any suggestion of food shortages the Government would transport food for sale, possibly, at subsidized prices. (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 5, 1958.)

Boycotters to be Re-tried¹

The Chief Justice ordered a re-trial when he gave judgement at the High Court, Lusaka, on an appeal by seven members of the African National Congress convicted at Fort Jameson in October on charges of boycotting.

The Chief Justice said: "Counsel for the appellants organized the appeal on a number of grounds—principally that they should not have been convicted unless there was evidence to show there was violence or conduct likely to lead to a breach of the peace. I do not think this proposal can be supported."

The magistrate should have made findings of fact as to whether the boycott was a trade dispute or not. There was therefore no further need for him to consider other grounds. (*Central African Post*, January 8, 1958.)

¹DIGEST V, 4.

Mineworkers' Union Elections¹

Mr. Lawrence Katilungu was re-elected president of the Northern Rhodesian African Mineworkers' Union. The post of general secretary, which Mr. Katilungu took on, in addition to the presidencies in September 1956, when Mr. Matthews Nkoloma was detained under copperbelt emergency regulations, went to Mr. Gabriel Mushikwa.

The fact that Mr. Katilungu received a majority from all seven branches of the union is regarded as a significant defeat for the other group which has been seeking to undermine his position and gain control of the union.

The union's annual convention approved unanimously a new constitution which was drafted in co-operation with the Northern Rhodesian Government's Labour Department. It included safeguards which will put its financial organization on a much sounder footing. Provision was made for a qualified accountant to watch its finances and, if necessary, to report to the Labour Department.

The *Manchester Guardian* (February 27, 1958) described the election as a triumph for the moderates.

Mr. Katilungu has resigned from the newly established Constitution Party* of which he was a founder-member.

Copperbelt Liaison Committee

The European Mineworkers' Union and the African Mineworkers' Union have approved the setting up of a liaison committee on matters of common interest. The decision to do so arises from the dispute declared by the Chamber of Mines after the refusal of the European Union to accept the Chamber's plan for increased productivity and economy in the copper mines. The move is designed to achieve internal solidarity and, in the event of trouble, support from the Miners' International Federation, which does not recognize racial barriers in the trade union movement. (*The Times*, March 8, 1958.)

Ambulance for Europeans Only

At an inquest on an African who was seriously injured in a road accident and subsequently died, the following evidence was given by a police inspector.

The Coroner's Officer: The African was taken by police ambulance?—Yes.

Did any other ambulance appear on the scene?—Yes, a European ambulance.

What occurred in respect of this ambulance?—I understand the situation was that a European ambulance could not carry Africans, so I summoned the police ambulance.

The Coroner: Who was in charge of the ambulance?—A nurse.

The Coroner's Officer: Was any request made to the ambulance to remove the injured person?—I can't remember giving a direct request because of previous experience with European ambulances picking up Africans.

The Coroner's Officer: Virtually the European nurse declined to take the African because she was not sure of the position.—Yes. The European ambulance went away without the injured person. I got a police ambulance on the scene within ten minutes.

In a statement the 19-year-old nurse said: "I was unaware at the time if there were any instructions as to whether Africans should be carried in the European ambulance or not. Since then instructions have been issued that the ambulance from the European hospital must pick up anyone injured in an accident, no matter what his race." (*Central African Post*, January 17, 1958.)

Churches Plea for Multi-Racialism

The Methodist Synod meeting at Lusaka unanimously passed a resolution saying: "This Synod, whilst welcoming evidence of growing liberal opinion in the sphere of race relations in the Federation desires to express its fear that the racial policy of the Federal Government—especially in regard to the franchise proposals and its attitude towards Dominion status is undermining this liberal spirit and inflaming African opinion. In particu-

lar we express our conviction that the current Franchise proposals do not meet the demands of common justice. . . ."

The Rev. Colin Morris, preaching at Chingola Free Church on "Politics—can the Church be involved?" defended his right as a Minister to become involved in a political party. The Government, he said, had banned the works of Karl Marx, but Karl Marx was a bowler-hatted reactionary compared to Jesus Christ. "This is the book they should ban—" he said, holding up the pulpit Bible "if they want to prevent Africans from getting ideas about their political rights."

Commenting on the Church's traditional cry that it must not have anything to do with politics, Mr. Morris said that this was the cry of the German Lutheran Church as they folded their arms and saw millions of Jews exterminated. "The Church," he said, "cannot afford here to fold its arms and see the African people sold down the river."

Attacking his critics who claim that he will split the Church if it goes into the political arena, Mr. Morris said that the Church was split politically from top to bottom already—in the most dangerous way possible—racially. "Nine out of ten African Christians are Congress supporters or sympathizers," he said, "though they dare not come out into the open. There is because of their fear of the disapproval of European missionaries, a tension between their faith and their hope. Their faith they practise openly in services. Their hope, which is largely centred upon the African Congress, they discuss secretly." On the other hand, European Christians, if they were politically active, had no choice but to be members of either the Federal or Dominion Parties—which were both robustly racial in outlook. The only way to unite the Church, African and European, politically, was to recognize that only a genuine multi-racial political party—a party in which all races had a say in policy-making—was compatible with the Bible's idea of justice. Answering the common charge that Africans are 'not ready for political responsibility yet' he said that many more Africans were politically conscious than Europeans will admit. . . ."

The naked truth he said, is that urban Africans are much better informed politically than Europeans here. "Whilst we fritter away our time in cocktail parties, Africans are meeting and arguing and discussing such matters as the future of the Federation and the franchise proposals." (*African Times*, January 17, 1958.)

Nothing short of a multi-racial society in Northern Rhodesia, under which different groups are permitted to live in harmony, to co-operate in schemes for the common good and to share the same political, social, educational, professional and cultural facilities will have the approval of the Roman Catholic Church, said a joint pastoral letter addressed to Catholics of all races in Northern Rhodesia. The letter published in *The Shield* the monthly magazine of the Roman Catholic Church in the Federation, is signed by five Northern Rhodesian bishops, a prefect apostolic and a vicar delegate. "We would like to see policy and legislation in Northern Rhodesia based more on unity of the human race than on the secondary differences between the sections which inhabit it. We warn all Catholics that they cannot reconcile with their Catholic conscience any tendency to introduce legislation which would secure the rights of one section of the community by curtailing the rights of others. . . . The mere physical juxtaposition of African, European and Asian zones is but a perversion of the term multi-racial society, and it cannot build up a society or nation. There is no multi-racial society as long as the various sections of the population are compelled to live segregated from each other. Some barriers may have been justified in the past. They are no longer justified today."

"If any barrier has to be maintained, its only justification should be the common good, it should not be erected for the benefit of one section of the people alone." The letter says the signatories are fully aware of the difficulties of moulding into one multi-racial society a community such as Northern Rhodesia's. (*Pretoria News*, March 6, 1958.)

Copperbelt Technical Foundation

Three of the first Technical Foundation centres were opened by Mr. D. Symington, chairman of the C.T.F. Governors and director of the Chamber of Mines. They are at Mufulira, Chingola and Luanshya and cost over £100,000. They are at present used only by Europeans of whom 364 are attending full-time courses as apprentices and learners: nearly a

¹DIGEST V, 2 and 3. ²DIGEST V, 4.

quarter of these are youths employed by employers other than the mines. There are also part-time evening courses in commercial and general subjects, attended by 468 students. A fourth centre at Kitwe is planned. (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 6, 1958.)

European Land Settlement

The biggest land settlement scheme ever opened in Northern Rhodesia was launched at Mkushi by the Member for Lands and Local Government, Mr. John Roberts. He said it had been designed to assist energetic and determined young men to operate on their own and establish their own farms. Mr. Roberts said the area contained some of the finest land in the country. The land had a potential for tobacco growing and subsidiary agriculture which could be regarded as second to none. Mr. Roberts said: "Applicants for farms in this area will be required to possess the minimum capital of about £2,500. If they have more than this so much the better, but I consider that a man with about £2,500 of his own can, with the various forms of assistance which will be available, stand an excellent chance of achieving success. . . . Hitherto, settlement loans have been guaranteed on a pound for pound basis, but I am hoping to be able to arrange soon for a 30s. loan for every 20s. capital provided by the lessee. So far this year we have planned thirty-seven farms varying between 1,500 and 3,000 acres. Planning will go on in stages until the 150 farm mark has been reached. It is estimated that each farm contains about 500 to 600 acres of good arable land." (*South Africa*, March 8, 1958.)

Nyasaland

Prime Minister's Reply to Chief¹

The reply of Sir Roy Welensky to the complaint of M'Mbelwa II, Paramount Chief of the Northern Angoni, and his councillors about federation, has been published. In the course of it Sir Roy Welensky said: "I can only think that mischievous people are spreading untrue stories about what is happening in Southern Rhodesia. The best thing I can suggest to you and your councillors is that you should go and see for yourselves. The best test of any policies is the happiness of the people who live under them and I think you will find that the African people of Southern Rhodesia are a happy and contented people who have profited greatly by what the Government has done and is doing for them. The Federal Government is not a foreign Government in Salisbury. . . . When I come to visit you I come not as a stranger but as your Prime Minister, to listen to your problems and to consider how the Federal Government can help you in so far as your problems are matters which the Federal Government deals with," he said.

"It is not a good sign when Africans talk of the Federation as their country because that suggests that it is not also the country of the Europeans and Asians who have lawfully come to live there. They have just as much right to regard it as their country as the African tribes who came from the Belgian Congo, or Zululand, or Portuguese East Africa." (*Federation Newsletter*, January 25, 1958.)

Federalization of Agriculture Deferred²

The Nyasaland Government has decided to defer for twelve months the consideration of the proposal to put non-African agriculture on the concurrent list, that is to federalize farming. The decision announced in a joint statement by the Federal and territorial governments follows discussions between Federal Cabinet Ministers and the Governor and Executive Council of Nyasaland; it was taken in view of the present period of financial stringency. (*South Africa*, January 11, 1958.)

Opposition to Congress Encouraged

Speaking to his constituents, Mr. L. A. Little, European member of the Legislative Council said that a common meeting ground between African, Asian and European in opposition to the African Congress was urgently needed.

¹DIGEST V, 3. ²DIGEST V, 1 and 3.

He said: "We cannot allow a small, politically ambitious body of Africans to dictate terms. The Congress's criticisms of foreigners is nonsense. It was Britons who made Nyasaland fit to live in, and if it had not been for Britons what would have been left here was what the slave-traders would not have bothered to take away."

Mr. Little warned the emerging African business men that they too would suffer if Congress came to power. The cry of freedom had been successfully exploited by Communists, Fascists and others, and now by Congress. . . . (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, February 20, 1958.)

Southern Rhodesia

New Prime Minister

At a congress, described by the *Rhodesia Herald* (February 8, 1958) as "the most fateful gathering since the Federation came into being", the 321 delegates of the Southern Rhodesian division of the United Federal Party elected Sir Edgar Whitehead, Federal Minister in the U.S.A., as leader. In the first ballot Mr. Garfield Todd, the Prime Minister, led with 129 votes, Sir Edgar Whitehead had nearly as many and Sir Patrick Fletcher (leader of the "rebel" Ministers who precipitated the crisis by announcing that they had lost confidence in Mr. Todd's leadership) received seventy votes. In the second ballot Mr. Todd again got 129 votes, but Sir Edgar Whitehead polled 193; and was declared elected.

Sir Edgar Whitehead was born in 1905. He was educated at Shrewsbury and University College, Oxford. In 1928 he went to Southern Rhodesia to join the Civil Service, but the appointment was not confirmed on account of poor eyesight. He decided to remain and farm, and became spokesman for the farming community. After the last war, Sir Godfrey Huggins selected him as his Finance Minister, and he dealt so successfully with the difficult problems of the post-war years that he would almost certainly have been Finance Minister in the first Federal Government if serious eye trouble had not compelled his retirement from public life. He was then knighted. As soon as the doctors were satisfied that he could read again without danger he was appointed Minister in Washington. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, February 13, 1958.)

Sir Edgar said that his policy would be that of Lord Malvern, the former Federal Prime Minister, who had sought the advancement of all races in the Federation. He would do all in his power to heal a breach in his party and to bring together again the parties to the dispute.

His election to the leadership of the Party had come as a complete surprise, and after nearly a year as Federal Minister in the United States he knew little of the present political situation in Southern Rhodesia.

He described as "entirely and absolutely untrue" the statement of Mr. Wellington Chirwa, a Member of the Nyasaland African Federal Parliament, that the ousting of Mr. Garfield Todd meant that South Africa's racial segregation policy would spread to Central Africa.

"We, in the Federation, have set out on a different policy from South Africa's," he said. "I do not think there is any party in the Federation that is in favour of full apartheid." (*Pretoria News*, February 11 and 12, 1958.)

The *Times* (February 11, 1958) described the decision as a wise choice and as proving "that the political judgement of Rhodesians is sound".

The *Pretoria News* (February 10, 1958) described Sir Edgar as Lord Malvern's first lieutenant and added: "A man moreover who was himself one of the main architects of federation and a keen protagonist of the partnership policy. It may be that the way in which Sir Edgar plays his hand within the next few months will have an important influence not only on Southern Rhodesia and the Federation but also on future racial attitudes throughout Africa."

The *Rhodesia Herald* (February 10, 1958) commented: "In different political circumstances, Sir Edgar might not have been everybody's choice—he has his critics, mainly of financial policy—but he brings to his new task a valuable record of achievement and background as great as that possessed by any other contender for the Prime Ministership."

Shortly after his arrival back in Southern Rhodesia, Sir Edgar Whitehead announced that after two and a half days of intensive negotiations, he had been unable to form a cabinet. But four days later the new Cabinet

was announced as follows: Prime Minister and Native Affairs—Sir E. Whitehead; Labour and Social Welfare—Mr. Garfield Todd; Treasury and Native Education—Mr. C. J. Hatty; Roads and Road Traffic, Local Government, Housing and Irrigation—Mr. G. Ellman Brown; Justice and Internal Affairs—Mr. Reginald Knight; Mines, Lands and Surveys—Sir George Davenport. (*The Times*, February 15 and 19, 1958.)

The *Rhodesia Herald* (February 17, 1958) said: "The most notable point is that Mr. Todd, around whom the crisis centred, will continue to be a member of the Cabinet."

The new Prime Minister said that he believed the United Federal Party had been maintained intact. But he would not be so foolish as to think that there might not be signs in future of the wounds that were inflicted during the crisis. He has to win a seat in Parliament within four months and said he had been offered a selection of constituencies. Sir Edgar also commented on the helpful attitude of Mr. Todd, who had "accepted a lesser position in another person's Cabinet". (*Federation Newsletter*, February 28, 1958.)

Mr. J. M. Macdonald, the United Federal Party Member of the Southern Rhodesia Parliament for the Hillside (Bulawayo) constituency, resigned his seat in order that Sir Edgar Whitehead could be chosen as candidate for the vacancy. But the seat will definitely be contested by the Dominion Party, who will do their utmost to prevent Sir Edgar from being elected. Sir Edgar is not yet a member of Parliament, and he must successfully contest a by-election within four months. (*Federation Newsletter*, March 7, 1958.)

Indian Diplomat in Hotel Incident

Mr. P. J. Rao, Press Attaché in the office of the Commissioner for India in Salisbury, was asked to leave a European-owned hotel where he went to have tea. He was accompanied by his wife, two children and another member of the Indian Commission. "I feel very insulted about this incident which I have reported to my Government," said Mr. Rao. (*Pretoria News*, March 3, 1958.) Subsequently an apology by the Federal Government was handed to the Assistant Commissioner for India in Salisbury.

The *Times* (March 14, 1958) reported that from June 1, 1958, any accredited diplomatist in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland who is refused admission to an hotel, restaurant, or place of entertainment, or who is refused liquor on licensed premises on the ground of colour alone, will be able to take action in the courts through the provisions of the Immunities and Privileges Act which was passed by the Federal Parliament last year.

Separate Travel¹

Salisbury is to have composite buses on certain routes, but they will not be convertible buses, which the bus company wanted to operate. The Salisbury United Omnibus Company has been told by the Council that they may operate composite buses with a fixed partition. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 30, 1958.)

Delimitation Proposals²

A proposal to adjust the boundaries of Salisbury South constituency so that the African vote could be off-loaded and concentrated into a new constituency where an African Member of Parliament would probably be elected was put to the Southern Rhodesian Delimitation Commission by Mr. W. A. E. Winterton, Federal M.P.

Mr. Winterton told the Commission that at present Africans who are potential voters were refraining from registering. They apparently intended to hold their hand until the report of the Delimitation Commission was ready. By waiting until after delimitation they would know where it would be most advantageous to themselves to register their votes. If, as a result of this, a further 1,000 Africans registered in Salisbury South as voters—without the constituency having been changed under delimitation—they might well exercise control. "I feel that at this present stage of development here, that would be to the detriment of this very good area of Hillside and Cranborne."

Mr. Winterton suggested that the boundary of his constituency should be amended and a new constituency should be created with a boundary

south of the railway line. He urged that there would be more community of interest between Africans and European flat dwellers than between Africans and European house owners, since the latter group, by virtue of their home ownership, had a greater stake in the country.

Mr. Harry Reedman, Territorial M.P. for the same constituency, said he did not favour Mr. Winterton's idea of concentrating the African vote in one constituency. If the African vote was spread over a number of constituencies, Africans would have recourse to a number of M.P.s. This was better than one person representing most of them. (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 14, 1958.)

Housing Black Spots¹

A delegation from the Christian Social Council in Salisbury, representing religious, welfare and other organizations, urged Salisbury City Council to clear up the city's "black spots".

The delegation submitted a five-point plan asking the Council to provide:

Areas reasonably near to their place of work, where married quarters can be built for Africans in domestic or commercial employment in the city suburbs.

Areas for recreational facilities for such Africans, and also for Africans housed on European stands.

Land and housing for Africans employed in the area of flat development.

Land in the suburbs for the housing and recreation of girls in domestic service.

Land for the housing of African workers near the proposed extension of industrial sites at Graniteside.

The City Council decided to await the report of the Urban African Affairs Commission.

The *Rhodesia Herald* (February 7, 1958) commented: "The ordinary citizen still adopts an attitude of procrastination and *laissez-faire*; he acknowledges that black industrial, office and domestic workers are vital to his continued existence. Where they, in tens of thousands, live does not concern him as long as they do not make a nuisance of themselves and want to establish a township half a mile from his own doorstep. . . . If existing plans are carried out, the bulk of the city's black workers, apart from those in Harari and domestic servants living on their employers' property, will be accommodated seven to twelve miles from the centre of the city. How are they to get in and out? By bicycle or foot in all weathers? the answer could be to provide adequate, fast transport, preferably by an electrified rail service. But will Europeans, who were not even willing to pay the Council enough to institute an efficient bus service for themselves, want to have many thousands spent on a costly scheme for Africans?"

"If one or another of the alternatives is not adopted, and soon, Europeans will find themselves—to put the matter at its lowest level—without sufficient staff for offices, shops, factories and Government departments."

The Mayor of Salisbury, Mr. L. J. Boshoff, said: "I feel that to establish 'black spots' now would be undesirable from both African and European points of view.

"For Europeans it would be grossly unfair, for whether we like it or not, it is an undeniable fact that where an area of African occupation is established the surrounding property slumps in value.

"From the African point of view, such enclaves would be subject to nuisance control and that would mean there could be none of the boisterous and noisy fun—music, beer parties and so on—which the African enjoys so much.

"The establishment of a hostel in a European area for African girls, would, I deeply regret to have to say, at once present us with a grave moral problem. This aspect is a delicate matter to discuss, but with the greatest respect for the protagonists of the hostel idea, I would ask them to accept that our experience of running a hostel for girls in Harari has already taught us the attractions such places have for undesirable European males." (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 10, 1958.)

The Effect of Wage Awards

The Bulawayo City Council "reluctantly" decided to discontinue

¹DIGEST V, 3. ²DIGEST V, 4.

¹DIGEST V, 3.

rations to its African labour force in order to save £20,000, to offset the increased expenditure of £99,000 imposed on it by the 1958 African wage award. The Council also decided to cut African family allowances by 50 per cent and to discontinue a special rent allowance made to nineteen employees, as well as to discontinue certain beer and personal allowances. The latter cuts would effect a saving of £1,452 a year.

The Council authorized the heads of municipal departments to investigate the weeding-out of "slackers and idlers" from its labour force. (*Pretoria News*, February 6, 1958.)

The Southern Rhodesian Department of Labour announced that one African employee in every thirteen in Salisbury was sacked at the end of January as a result of wage increases. A spokesman of the Department said that the average discharge among the large firms was $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Among the smaller firms there were virtually no discharges.

"It is estimated that in greater Salisbury this means that 3,000 employees have been discharged. The total labour force affected by the new wage regulations is about 40,000." (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 6, 1958.)

Coloured Immigration

The steady flow of Coloured immigrants from the Union, particularly from the Cape, is causing concern in official circles in the Federation.

Some 8,500 South African-born immigrants, 40 per cent of the total accepted, entered the Federation last year and a "fair number" are suspected of being Coloured, although they declared themselves as European. (*Rhodesia Sunday Times*, January 6, 1958.)

Move to Extend Whipping

Magistrates Court Amendments Bill, which provides for the extension of whipping as a punishment for crimes to include the theft of motor vehicles and of maize on the cob, passed its committee stage.

An amendment moved by Mr. H. H. C. Holderness, of the United Federal Party, that the clauses allowing whipping for the theft of motor vehicles and maize on the cob should be deleted was defeated with only Mr. Holderness and Mrs. M. E. Rosin, the House's only woman member, voting for it.

Mr. Holderness, a Salisbury lawyer, gave a vivid description of what corporal punishment for adults in the Federation involves. Whippings were administered with a rattan cane 4 ft. long and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick. The prisoner is stripped and tied across a "triangle"; strokes are administered at the rate of ten to fifteen a minute; and after the whipping surgical dressings may have to be applied. In Southern Rhodesia (he continued) the range of offences for which corporal punishment may be administered is much greater than in most other countries, and it is used far more frequently.

Farmer members strongly supported whipping as a punishment for the theft of maize on the cob as being a definite deterrent. One speaker said that farmers had taken the law into their own hands and administered whippings on some occasions. Mr. H. J. Quinton, former Parliamentary Secretary for Native Affairs, said farmers were losing more than 4 to 5 per cent of their maize crops by theft, which meant a loss of more than £1,000. Whipping was the only way to stop maize thefts, because Africans who were sent to prison returned as "national heroes". Sir Patrick Fletcher, former Minister of Native Affairs and leader of the anti-Todd "Cabinet rebels" in the recent Southern Rhodesia political crisis, said that the argument against whipping had been "sentimental".

The Minister of Justice and Internal Affairs, Mr. R. Knight, said he was not prepared to have the general question of whipping investigated. He had no fear that junior magistrates would not be just in their decisions and, in any event, before whipping could be imposed the sentence would have to be confirmed by the High Court. (*Manchester Guardian*, March 6, 1958.)

Education Cuts Restored

The Southern Rhodesian Government decided to restore the cuts made in the Native Education Vote and agreed to make available the full amounts envisaged under the five-year plan so that it will be possible to provide accommodation for most of those African children wishing to enrol. In a statement issued on February 8 the then Minister of Native Education, Mr. R. D. Palmer, emphasized that the position which had

arisen in native education was not the fault of the missions, and the Government took full responsibility. The statement continued: "Due to the general financial position of the country economies had to be effected and for that reason cuts were made; but a thorough investigation revealed that hardship followed. A re-assessment of the situation was made so that relief could be afforded and disappointment avoided." (*South Africa*, March 8, 1958.)

The realization by the Government that there had been a miscalculation in the estimates for African education led to a ban on the opening of any new Sub-Standards A and B Standard 1, and the engagement of untrained African teachers—who comprise half the teaching strength of the Colony. Protests about this had been made at the Methodist Synod where Mr. H. Morley Wright said that under the new order there was now no place for the African due to enter school this year. "The gate is closed," he said. Mr. J. Roberts, Superintendent of Methodist schools, said that hundreds of children were turned away from the twenty-one Methodist mission schools in the huge Nata reserve.

The Archdeacon of Matabeleland, the Venerable J. N. Stopford, challenged the Southern Rhodesia Government to accept publicly responsibility for the slowing of the rural African primary schools programme. A statement to this effect, he said, would put an end to the present situation in which the Christian Church was forced to take the blame "with the result that the rural Africans' trust in the Christian religion is being impaired".

The Archdeacon of Mashonaland, the Ven. E. D. K. Wood, said: "Although the vote for African education has increased steadily over the years, it nothing like approaches the demand even for what may be called 'normal growth': hence the dilemmas of the Department of Native Education and the dissatisfaction of the Africans. The latter is increased because of the emphasis which was laid upon the necessity for doubling of the African's poll-tax if the new Five-Year Plan for African education was to be financed. . . .

"It must not be forgotten that primary education is not something which is just handed out as a gift to the Africans. Far from it. Not only do they have to pay school fees in order to supplement the inadequate grants with which the missions carry on the work, but in addition the local inhabitants work and pay for the building of schools and additions to them. They make the bricks and they lay them; and very often collect funds for windows, doors, roofing, etc. Sometimes they pay a teacher or teachers when the Department withholds grants-in-aid on account of lack of funds. It may thus be realized what a sense of injustice and frustration results from the withholding of approval for extra classes and teachers, some of which have been promised." (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 15, 22, 25 and 27, 1958.)

The *Rhodesia Herald* (January 28, 1958) pointed out that Mr. M. C. Finkle, the Director of Native Education, admitted that instead of an expected increase of 20,000 pupils in 1957 the Department had been faced with an increase of 45,000. This would have required between 500 and 600 additional teachers. Neither the teachers nor the money were available.

EAST AFRICA

Single University Recommended

A WHITE Paper setting out the policy of the Governments of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar on higher education in East Africa was published on March 7. The Governments recommend that serious consideration should be given to the desirability of creating a single University in East Africa, with constituent colleges in Kenya and Tanganyika, as well as in Uganda. This recommendation is based on that part of the Working Party's report which deals at length with the future position of Makerere College and the Royal Technical College of East Africa. The members of the Working Party stressed that the provision of university education in East Africa should continue to be the concern of the three territories acting together and proposed a move towards an East African university, embracing constituent colleges in each territory. (*Kenya Newsletter*, March 13, 1958.)

'DIGEST' V, 4.

Kenya

New Constitutional Arrangements¹

IN a dispatch to the Acting Governor of Kenya, the Secretary of State for the Colonies set out the provisions for the election to the twelve seats to be held by Specially Elected Members. Details of the creation of the twelve seats designed to provide representation not based on a purely communal electorate had been set out in paragraphs (5) and (6) of Cmd. 309.² It is stated that the Council is intended to be "an impartial and vigilant guardian of the interests of all communities".

The Secretary of State said: "For nomination, candidates will require to have as proposer and seconder existing Members of Legislative Council and be supported by three other Members. These nominating Members, whether proposers, seconders, or supporters, may not be either public officers or Specially Elected Members. Existing Members of Legislative Council, other than public officers, will be eligible for nomination as candidates for these seats, and if elected will vacate their present seats; in the case of a Member holding a constituency elected seat, election to a Specially Elected seat will necessitate a by-election in that constituency. No public officer will be allowed to stand for election or take part in the election of candidates other than by casting a vote by secret ballot; these restrictions reflect general policy on the participation of public officers in political activity.

"The election of Specially Elected Members will be conducted by free and secret ballot under the auspices of the Speaker. If the nominations to any seat or group of seats do not exceed the number of seats available the Speaker will declare the candidate or candidates who have been nominated to be duly elected."

Further details were also given about the composition of the Council of State. It is explained that the establishment of the Council of State does not introduce a bi-cameral system of legislation in Kenya. The powers of the Council will not be such as to impair the legislative authority of the Legislative Council itself and only in the case of a limited class of legislation, namely that which it finds to be discriminatory, will it be empowered to intervene to ensure further consideration of such legislation. Nor, it is stated, will its creation in any way diminish or detract from the constitutional powers and authority of the Secretary of State to advise Her Majesty to regulate the constitutional arrangements of Kenya.

Describing the method by which the Council of State would work, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said: "When substantive legislation is introduced into the Legislative Council . . . all Members of the Council of State will be sent copies of every Bill upon its introduction to Legislative Council. If there is then a request by any Member that the Council should meet to scrutinize any particular measure the Chairman will convene the Council which will be able, at any time before the measure has received its Third Reading in the Legislative Council, to lay a statement before the Legislative Council declaring that in its opinion and for reasons set out in the statement the measure is differentiating. When this statement is laid the Legislative Council will be unable to proceed to a Third Reading until the Council of State, having scrutinized the measure further, has either withdrawn its previous statement or laid before the Legislative Council a report embodying its comments upon the Bill or any provisions of the Bill. Such a report will, if the Council of State thinks fit, contain recommendations for revision of the measure by amendment, deletion or replacement of any of its provisions, or by insertion of new provisions, if in the opinion of the Council of State such changes would remove the grounds for objection to the measure. . . .

"On receiving the report of the Council of State on any measure, with its recommendations for revision, if any, the Legislative Council will consider the report and will certify its decisions upon it to the Council of State.

"After any Bill has been passed by the Legislative Council and whether or not the Council of State has already laid a statement upon it, the Council of State may nevertheless make a reasoned request for its reservation for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure on the ground that the legislation is differentiating." The Governor unless he considers it essential in the

public interest that the measure in question is brought into immediate operation, will then reserve it for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure.

"All Members of the Council of State will be sent copies of subordinate legislation upon publication. Thereafter it will be possible within thirty days for the Council to meet and make a reasoned report upon any such legislation which it considers differentiating. The Governor will then report the views of the Council of State to the Secretary of State who will decide whether or not to annul the legislation.

"Decisions will be taken in the Council of State by a majority vote, the Chairman, in the case of an equality of votes of those present and voting, having a casting vote. Otherwise the Council shall determine its own procedure. Unless, in the opinion of the Council of State, the public interest demands otherwise, the sittings of the Council will be held in public."

The Times (February 14, 1958) described the Colonial Secretary's dispatch as embodying "a step forward and also what is in a sense a retracing of steps taken in a wrong direction", and continued: "The weakness in the Lyttelton constitution, . . . was that it based the whole of Kenya political life on communal representation. Thus, although it provided a genuine multi-racial government, the means by which members of all races reached both the Legislative Council and ministerial office had proved unsatisfactory. They were dependent on the votes of their own racial communities, and their dependence set a premium upon extremists. The new Lennox-Boyd constitution . . . sought to get out of this rut by creating twelve seats in the Legislative Council which should be occupied by persons elected by all races. They are to be filled by the Legislative Council sitting and voting as an electoral college. There are twelve of these seats, allotted four to each race."

Dealing with the Council of State the editorial said: "The Council will have a function much resembling that of the African Affairs Board in Central Africa, except that its duty will be to protect not just one but all three races."

At Question Time in the House of Commons (February 18, 1958), Mr. Lennox-Boyd said it was hoped that the new Constitution would be brought into force by an Order-in-Council very soon after the African elections had been held. Mr. James Johnson (Labour) said that Members on the Opposition benches had the utmost sympathy for more African participation in this Constitution and felt, unlike the Government Front Bench, that it should have gone farther. He said many of them wished the Africans had given the new Constitution a trial.

The Rt. Hon. James Griffiths (Labour) welcomed the proposals and said: "It is important that we should secure the co-operation of all Africans in this matter, and I think that this turns on the Council of State. In order to reassure the Africans further, so that they will co-operate as we all desire that they should do to make the Constitution a success, will the Rt. Hon. Gentleman again give an assurance, which I know is in the White Paper, that the ultimate control of Kenya and its destiny still rests with Her Majesty's Government and the Secretary of State?" Mr. Lennox-Boyd gave an absolute assurance on this point.

In Nairobi Mr. A. O. Odinga, chairman of the African Elected Member's Organization, said that his members in the Legislative Council had never acted on the instructions of the British Labour Party or anybody else; they had always acted in the people's interests. Asked to comment on the fact that Members on both sides of the House of Commons had urged Africans to give the constitutional changes a chance to work he said that British Members of Parliament might have their views, but so had he, and he felt "very strongly" about the constitution.

The particular points he made were that it was absurd that the new constitution should provide a standstill for ten years, and the Council of State was unnecessary. All other races in Kenya had universal adult suffrage. The Africans had not, but that was their main aim. (*The Times*, February 20, 1958.)

African Elections

Ten candidates have been nominated for the six additional African seats in the Legislative Council created by the new Constitution. Two have been returned unopposed. In the *Central Province (South)*: Dr. Gikonyo

¹Cmd. 369, H.M.S.O. ²DIGEST V, 3.

Kiano is opposing Mr. Eluid W. Mathu, a former member of the Executive Council. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, February 27, 1958.)

The total ban on public meetings in Nairobi was lifted at the beginning of the election campaign. After that date meetings could be held providing licences had been issued by the District Commissioner.

Polling takes place during the week-end of March 22.

Commercial Expansion

At the annual meeting of the Nairobi Chamber of Commerce, Mr. P. J. Rogers, the retiring president, maintained that an entirely new market was developing in Kenya. He said: "I hope the impressive figures of the increase in our national income, in the value of our cash crops and the annual earnings of Africans outside farming, coupled with the confidence which exists among us in Kenya who know and have faith in the future, will reassure the hesitant overseas investor."

According to the Registrar-General in Kenya, Mr. D. J. Coward, continued increase in company business registrations in Kenya proves that foreign and local investors are showing confidence in the Colony's future.

"There is a feeling in some quarters that there is a recession in Kenya," said Mr. Coward. "The figures for 1957 indicate that this feeling is quite unjustified." Mr. Coward added that in 1956 there were slightly more than 17,000 registered limited companies and incorporated firms. Last year this figure increased by nearly 2,000, which included a number of overseas concerns opening branches in the Colony. (*Kenya Newsletter*, February 13, 1958.)

Further Financial Aid

A grant of £750,000 and an interest-free loan of the same amount have been promised to Kenya by the U.K. Government. This is in addition to a grant of £3 million for the financial year 1957/58, towards expenditure arising from the Emergency, announced last month.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, announced in the House of Commons this week that he had reviewed Kenya's financial prospects for the coming financial year, in consultation with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Although the extreme phase of the emergency had passed, the Colony was now engaged on the long haul of rehabilitation and resettlement for the thousands of ex-detainees. Expenditure arising from the emergency would continue in the coming year to be too heavy for Kenya to bear wholly from her own resources. Subject, therefore, to the approval of Parliament, the U.K. Government would be prepared to provide Kenya with a further grant of £750,000 and an interest-free loan of the same amount for the U.K. financial year 1958-9. As in the past years, this assistance would be called on only to the extent that it proved necessary. (*Commonwealth News Agency*, February 20, 1958.)

Chief Secretary Appointed

Mr. W. F. Coutts, Education Secretary and Minister of Education, Labour, and Lands, Kenya, has been appointed Chief Secretary of the Colony. He succeeds Mr. R. G. Turnbull, who has been appointed Governor of Tanganyika.

Mr. Coutts was born in 1912, and educated at Glasgow Academy and St. Andrews University. He was first appointed to the Colonial Administrative Service as a cadet in Kenya in 1936, and was transferred to St. Vincent, Windward Islands, as Administrator in 1949. He returned to Kenya in 1955 as special commissioner on the method of electing Africans to the Legislative Council, and was appointed to his present post in the same year. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, March 13, 1958.)

Nairobi Officer Ordered to Leave

A Nairobi City Council senior town planning officer, Mr. E. Marles, has been refused permission to remain in Kenya. The City Council wants him to stay, and says that it is unlikely that he can be replaced from within Kenya. The Principal Immigration Officer says he is "not satisfied that Mr. Marle's engaging in his employment would be to the benefit of the inhabitants generally of the colony". The Chief Secretary decided not to interfere with the decision.

Nairobi's Town Clerk, Mr. H. Ayrey, said the Immigration Department

seemed to be acting as a judge of the necessity of the City Council employing Mr. Marles. The Department had been told that Mr. Marles was usefully and satisfactorily employed. Mr. Ayrey added he understood that one of Mr. Marles's main grievances was that he and his advocates had been forced to put their case by correspondence, and had not been given a personal hearing, and did not know what allegations had been made.

Mr. Marles said he had not "the slightest idea" why he was being turned out of the country, but he thought it must have something to do with the fact that he and his wife, an artist, liked to stay with Arab friends at Zanzibar. He added: "I think someone's childish outlook assumes that my wife and I are raging Communists. I have never been a member of any political party anywhere and I am not interested in politics." (*Uganda Argus*, February 6, 1958.)

Tanganyika

U.N. Visiting Mission Report¹

PRaise and criticism of both the British administration and the tactics of local political parties, together with an admission of the difficulties which have prevented Britain from giving a "time-table for self-rule" are contained in the report of the U.N. Visiting Mission. The report stated: "Much ground has yet to be covered in a territory where the majority of the people still live in primitive conditions before self-government can be achieved." Economic, educational and local government progress will dictate the rate of political advancement at central government level.

The Mission commented that "the fact that tensions have been kept to a minimum may be attributed to a desire of most of the political leaders of all races to work together for the common good, even when they do not agree on the means of achieving it, and to the moderating influence of the administering authority".

The report stated that a majority of the non-Africans, no less than of the articulate Africans, accepted as an ultimate objective that Tanganyika would become a self-governing State, the Constitution of which would guarantee equal rights to all races without discrimination.

While congratulating the administering authority upon the introduction of the Electoral system of Legislative Council, the mission feels that two measures could be taken which—"might better dispose the African elections". The first would be to make the vote optional for one candidate of each of the three races, and the second measure would be to "liberalize the required qualifications".

Mr. Hamilton (Australia) dissociated himself from these two suggestions. He recognized that the tripartite vote was essentially educational in purpose, in that it attempted to eliminate racial exclusiveness, and he was not satisfied that the African electorate was so ill-disposed towards it. Concurring in the Mission's view that postponement of the elections planned for 1958-9 would be undesirable, and bearing in mind the Governor's statement that any changes in the electoral system could not fail to have this undesirable effect, Mr. Hamilton regards the suggestion that electoral qualifications should be "liberalized" as unrealistic.

The report describing the political life of the territory, listed and commented on the following political parties:

Tanganyika African National Union: Membership of between 150,000 and 200,000, confined to Africans have been successful in establishing branches throughout the Territory; demands include constitutional advance by progressive stages towards the establishment of a democratic African State in which non-African minorities would enjoy equal rights as citizens, increased Africanization of the Civil Service and improvement of the African sector of the economy, educational advancement (including the establishment of a territorial university) and labour conditions.

The Party is especially sensitive to situations which, it feels, involve any form of racial discrimination. Individual branches of T.A.N.U. present the Mission with complaints, a large number of which concerned cases of land alienation.

United Tanganyika Party: Multi-racial in membership of approximately 10,000 of whom about 67 per cent are Africans, 23.6 per cent Asians, and

¹U.N. Document T/1345, December 1957.

8.5 per cent Europeans. The party has established a number of branches and recently set up a youth organization. The Party declares that it is disturbed by the damaging effects of extreme racial politics during the last few years. Its objective is the attainment of self-government for the Territory on the basis of equal rights for all citizens, regardless of race.

It urges that the tripartite vote should be made optional and believes that universal adult suffrage should be achieved gradually, starting with a qualitative vote. It favours creation of a second chamber consisting of chiefs and outstanding citizens of all races.

Tanganyika National Society: Originally the Tanganyika branch of the Capricorn Society, has a small following among Europeans and Africans. It supports the system of parity representation with a qualitative franchise as a transitional measure.

Hindu Council of Tanganyika: Membership of this party is unknown; largely concerned with the advancement of the Hindu community; advocates the development of a multi-racial society and the achievement of self-government; aims include the educational, social and cultural advancement of the Africans.

Ismailia Central Political Committee: Claims to represent the Ismailia community, which numbers approximately 17,000; strongly opposed to extreme nationalism and believes that progress must be gradual and be coupled with economic and social advancement.

Asian Association: The heir of the former Indian Association; membership believed to be small; political views similar to those of T.A.N.U. It urges the immediate appointment of Asians to senior positions in the Administration and the introduction of compulsory education provided by the State.

Discussing land alienation the report described the question as one of the most delicate of all problems in the Territory. The Mission welcomed the statement of the Administering Authority that it was the intention to modify the tribal system of tenure only with the understanding and support of the African peoples concerned. Nevertheless, the Mission agreed with the Royal Commission that very considerable changes in the attitudes of all concerned would be needed if plans and proposals for increasing productivity were to be successful. It pointed out that there was ample evidence that forms of tenure closely approaching individual freehold had evolved in the coastal areas, Chaggaland and the Bukoba district. A most satisfactory land tenure law might be applied in these areas.

Where it is considered essential to alienate land for agricultural or pastoral purposes, the Mission considers that preference should be given to large-scale enterprises rather than to individuals and that the local people should, in principle, be associated with enterprise, *inter alia*, through being given an opportunity of investing, wherever possible, in it. It is also suggested that consideration be given to restricting the term of new leases to thirty-three years, which in the opinion of the Mission, is a sufficient period to enable investment in agricultural or pastoral enterprises to be fully recovered.

Commenting on the Report the *East African Standard* (January 10, 1958) said: "The members took careful note, kept their eyes open and went away to form their own conclusions. Their unanimity on the central theme is of signal importance, because it throws overboard the earlier, and damaging recommendations for a time-table of constitutional advance and a target date for self-rule. They disagree in only one particular contained in a minority report upholding the tripartite system of voting against the majority criticism.

"A majority of the non-Africans, no less than 'the articulate Africans'—to quote the phrase—was found to accept the ultimate objective of a self-governing State based on a constitution guaranteeing equal rights to the population of whatever race. How much remains to be done, and how great the task of the Administering Authority, is sketched in the Mission's report."

Criticism of Government Policy

Mr. Ivor Bayldon, a non-official Member of the Legislative Council, and until recently chairman of the Non-Official Members' Organization, has made some blunt criticisms of the Government in a circular letter to his constituents in the Southern Highlands Province, saying:—"The immigrant races are becoming more and more frustrated and believe less and

less in the Government's ability and will to develop the country on the multi-racial lines which are basic to this Government's and Her Majesty's Government's policy. . . . The ministerial system is just not working because the Ministers are no more than super-heads of department. There is all the form of a ministerial system but none of the substance.

"There is a lack of belief and therefore a lack of will to carry out Government's declared policy. There is no leadership and no political direction from the top. There is the traditional fear of politics and the desire to cling to pure administration as the sole approach to Tanganyika's problems. If the now familiar pattern of development is to be avoided here a radical change in approach to the problems of this country will have to be made. The familiar pattern is first the emergence of an extreme national group. On account of its extreme nature it is at times actually subversive and so comes up against the law. This leads first to proscription of the movement, later to imprisonment of some of the leaders, and later still to the use of force. Thereafter there is a retreat by the Government and the country in the end is handed over to the extreme group to govern. . . .

"How is it that the confidence and trust of the people, which has been won after years of patient and disinterested work, is so quickly lost? In Tanganyika forty years' work has been considerably undermined in three or four years and the process is continuing. The first reason is the apathy on the part of us immigrants who are not prepared to get to grips with the situation and expect everything to be done by the Government. Unless we pursue our claims in this country and vigorously voice them the case will go by default. The Government is not looking for more difficulties in an already difficult situation and we must push the absolute necessity for truly multi-racial development and the maintenance of the highest standards. There is support for this development by a vast number of African Tanganyikans, but there is no encouragement anywhere for them to voice their views. We immigrants can do a great deal in this and thereby show that we have faith and belief in truly multi-racial development. The second and more important reason is the approach of the Government which is steeped in the tradition of rigid impartiality over political issues. The Government is very largely responsible for the emergence of the political tensions because of the advances which it has itself engineered. It is right that it should do so, but it must not wash its hands of the natural result of its own work. It must still be prepared to lead and advise the people, who have been taught to expect a lead from the Government in all their problems. Confidence will not be retained when advice and leadership are withheld because of the traditional avoidance of politics. . . .

"If multi-racialism is the policy of the Government, it must be prepared to advise and lead on this question and the attempt to maintain a rigid impartiality cannot but create an attitude of mind on the part of the Government which will lead to a progressive loss of touch with the people. . . . Its officers are specifically ordered not to advise in political matters—naturally they should not advise on how to vote, but they should be able to advise on the larger political issues and policy. The people do not understand when this advice is withheld. . . . This approach plays straight into the hands of the extremist because he is left with a clear field with no reasoned opposition from the very people who are in the best position to counter it and to whom the people look for a lead. . . .

"As soon as subversive propaganda starts, the Government, generally through the District Commissioner, should counter it by holding *barazas* and getting amongst the people, pointing out where the subversionists are wrong and naming them and their organization. As it is, nothing is done until the subversionists have broken the law and by that time the seeds of doubt and mistrust have begun to take root, fertilized considerably because the Government has allowed the subversion without countering it immediately. . . .

"There is an enormous amount of goodwill in this country; it must be encouraged to come out into the open. At present it fears to do this because of intimidation. It observes the apparent success of the subversionists and the Government's patent unwillingness to take any action unless the law is actually broken and so this goodwill stays hidden, puzzled and discouraged. A committee is needed to examine the relationship of the Government with the people of the country, because the Government is steadily losing touch with us and is becoming less and less able to secure our support and confidence." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, March 13, 1958.)

Economic Development

In a written answer to a question in the House of Commons, Mr. J. Profumo, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, said: "Tanganyika, which remains predominantly agricultural, is unevenly developed and considerable additional capital investment is required for further expansion."

"Subsistence farming continues to account for the major part of African agricultural activity, but in a number of areas there has been encouraging progress in the production of cash crops. The co-operative movement has played a very important part in this aspect of development, the value of the produce handled having increased nearly tenfold and now amounting to about 20 per cent of Tanganyika's exports. A satisfactory feature has been the much greater diversification of agricultural production, in which sisal formerly played an unduly predominant part."

"Mineral production has increased significantly. By far the most important factor in the past ten years has been the development of diamond mining. The total value of diamonds sold rose from £631,650 in 1947 to £2,855,000 in 1956. In the same period the total value of gold sold rose from £408,440 to £742,000, and of lead from nothing to £1,211,000."

"The expansion in trade and commercial activity has been substantial. The total value of external and inter-territorial trade rose from £25 million in 1947 to £90,500,000 in 1956."

T.A.N.U. and the Elections

The Tanganyika African National Union will put up candidates and encourage its members to vote at the forthcoming elections to the Legislative Council. This was decided after a keen debate at the annual conference of the Union. Voting was thirty-seven in favour of taking part in the elections and eleven against.

Other resolutions passed at the conference included one asking the Government to increase the number of Unofficial Members in Legislative Council by next year. Such an increase of Unofficials was a normal step towards self-government practised in other British territories, the resolution declared. If the Government refused to accede to the request, the Union would consider "more positive action".

The Union is also to ask for a commission of inquiry into colour discrimination in the prisons. It was alleged that people who had committed the same offence might be given "first, second or third-class treatment". (*Uganda Argus*, January 27, 1958.)

Mr. Zuberi M. M. Mtemvu, a leading member and former provincial secretary of the Tanganyika African National Union, has denounced its policy of moderation and declared that if it does not advocate "Africa for Africans only" he and other prominent Africans will form a new nationalist party. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, March 6, 1958.)

Africans in Government Service

The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. A. Lennox-Boyd, told the House of Commons that twenty-nine of the present thirty Assistant District Officers in Tanganyika are Africans and a further eight Africans are to be appointed. Eight African Assistant District Officers have passed their law examinations and have been appointed magistrates.

New Members of Legco

Two new Members have been appointed to Legislative Council as a result of the resignation of two Representative Members in December.

Mr. K. S. Mirambo, Deputy Mayor of Dar es Salaam, replaces Mr. J. K. Nyerere as Representative Member for Dar es Salaam, and Mr. C. S. Kikkifas has been appointed in the place of Mr. C. L. Towne. (*Uganda Argus*, February 4, 1958.)

The Swahili Press

The Government has announced that ownership of its three Swahili newspapers is to be transferred to an independent company. Commenting on fears that transfer would not have the effect of making the papers completely independent a Government statement said: "It has been planned that the overall direction of editorial and general policy shall be in the hands of the board of trustees in whom all the shares in the company

will be vested. . . . The Chairman of the trustees will be Colonel Sir Charles Pownsonby, who is a solicitor and company director, and has many ties with East Africa and an extensive knowledge of the territories, which he frequently visits. He is a former chairman of the Royal Empire Society, a member of council of the Joint East and Central African Board, a member of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, and also of the British Empire Producers' Organization. . . .

"An ex-Government official, Mr. F. H. Page-Jones, will also be a trustee as well as managing director of the board of directors. Mr. Page-Jones, at present Minister for Local Government and Administration, is retiring from Government service. Chief Thomas Marealle and Chief Lukumbuya of Ukerewe have also agreed to serve on the board of trustees. . . . The first directors will be Mr. A. Y. A. Karimjee, a prominent Dar es Salaam business man (chairman); Mr. F. H. Page-Jones, managing director; Mr. Makata Mwinjintwana, a Tanga business man; Mr. James Mwaikambo, of Rungwe, a prominent member of the former Swahili Newspapers Advisory Board; Mr. Robert Lukyaa, public relations officer to the Bahaya Council, who had had experience as an editor; and Mr. F. Waller, a director of United Africa Company (Tanganyika), Ltd. The directors will be responsible for the business affairs of the company and for carrying out the general policy of the board of trustees." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, February 13, 1958.)

Uganda

Governor's Address

THE Governor, Sir Frederick Crawford, in an address to the Legislative Council said that the Government would not be deterred from its objective by resignations or by threats, and that the objective was the progressive development of a Legislative Council for the whole country, manned increasingly by the people of the country. Sir Frederick said that there were sections of opinion in Uganda which claimed a dislike of Legislative Council. Some people had called for a boycott of the Council or of the forthcoming African direct elections, in the hope of exerting political pressure or of gaining a political start on their rivals.

He noted with regret that Buganda had only four members on the Representative side of the house since the Buganda Electoral College had refused to elect a member in the place of the one who had resigned. Sir Frederick deplored the Electoral College's refusal to perform its prescribed constitutional function and he was sure that the House and the Kabaka's Government deplored it too. "I can only hope," he went on, "that wiser counsels will prevail and that this empty seat will soon be filled in the interests of the people of Buganda. Meanwhile it will continue vacant."

Referring to this year's African direct elections, the Governor said he had no doubt that 1958 would be recognized in the future as one of major importance in the constitutional development of Uganda. The elections, which would be on a wide franchise, would take place in September or October.

Announcing the eventual transfer of the seat of Government from Entebbe to Kampala, Sir Frederick said that with the development of the Ministerial system and the need for Ministers to spend an increasing amount of time in Legislative Council, it would become necessary for them to move to Kampala. The Ministers would move as soon as the first of three contiguous office-blocks could be built. It was hoped that that would be by 1960.

The Governor went on to talk about security, law and order, expressing his concern and that of the Government at the progressive increase in crime. He announced that it was proposed to appoint a Director of Public Prosecutions so that there could be closer supervision of criminal prosecutions.

Sir Frederick said it was a regrettably common experience that crime increased as people became more sophisticated, as tribal, clan and family restraints tended to become weakened, as communications improved and as a money economy was introduced. "This, unhappily, has occurred in Uganda," he said, "and cannot be allowed to go unchecked."

On Africanization of the public service, the Governor said he had personally been giving special attention to this. With the Chief Secretary and others responsible, he had proposed practical measures to increase the number of Africans in all grades of the public service as rapidly as that could be done consistent with the maintenance of standards and efficiency.

"I regard it as one of the main tasks of Government, if not its chief task," he said, "to prepare in this country a sound local civil service so that, when self-government eventually comes, Uganda will not lack men of previous and well-earned experience, high standards of administration and devotion to their calling."

Speaking of the need for increased agricultural production Sir Frederick said that the social and constitutional progress of Uganda had not to be "underpinned" by sound economic progress and expansion. This was the more so now that the country's past accumulated wealth, set aside for development, was nearing exhaustion. In the past ten years Government had spent nearly £50 million on capital schemes of all kinds—and had done so without borrowing. But the financial position had now changed. (*Uganda News*, January 13, 1958.)

An African Majority in Legco

Two new African members were sworn in when the Legislative Council reassembled in January. They were Mr. Patrick Esabu of Teso and Mr. Lokolimoi of Karamoja. Mr. John Bikangaga from Kigezi is also to become a back-bencher. This will bring the total membership of the Council to sixty-two, of whom thirty-three are Africans. (*Uganda News*, January 13, 1958.)

In an article in the *New Commonwealth* (March 3, 1958) Mr. A. E. Jones commented: "The introduction of an African majority in the Legislative Council has been effected with hardly a ripple of comment. The appointment of a non-voting Speaker in place of the two-vote Governor made it necessary to appoint two more Government members to ensure a Government majority in the House. At the same time a member was appointed for Karamoja, a district hitherto unrepresented in the Legislature. All three new members are Africans, and all three were appointed to the back-bench. This is a device whereby the Government ensures itself a majority for what in other Parliaments would be called 'Votes of Confidence'. Those who sit on it are not Government officials. They can speak and vote as they wish, except on matters which the Government declares to be of vital interest to the country, when they are obliged to vote with the Government."

Varying Attitudes to Elections and the Legislative Council¹

Describing the preparations for Uganda's first direct elections, the *Uganda Argus* (January 1, 1958) said: "To get anything up to 1 million voters to the polls is going to need a great deal of work. It will, however, be more than a feat of organization. Direct elections have been made a symbol of Uganda's political progress and it is therefore vital that popular interest should be shown in them." Bugisu District Council has passed a resolution stating that direct elections are accepted in principle "subject to the following being corrected by the Government":

1. The Constitution of Legislative Council to be amended;
2. African local governments should first have joint discussions on the future Constitution of Uganda;
3. "We deplore the idea of special, adequate and effective safeguards for non-Africans";
4. Mbale should not be included in the electoral district of Bukedi, and should be withdrawn. (Mbale Township, which is a separate administrative area, is planned to be included in both Bukedi and Bugisu Electoral Districts.)

These proposals are not acceptable to the Government and the Bugisu District Council has been informed that at the forthcoming elections it will be called on to nominate a member to represent Bugisu for appointment by the Governor.

The registration of electors in Buganda began on March 1, but in some areas chiefs refused to assist in preparing for the registration. The elections are the direct result of the request by Buganda, which was incorporated in

the 1955 agreement, that the Buganda representatives to the Legislative Council should be directly elected, but now some influential elements are seeking ways of preventing this from happening. Two main objections have been raised by local chiefs:

1. They feel that as they derive their authority from the Kabaka and his Government they should not be appointed assistant registration officers by the Protectorate Government.
2. They hold that to take the oath not to reveal information reaching them in the course of their duties would be in conflict with their oath of allegiance to the Kabaka.

The Government has made proposals which would effectively meet these objections, but they have not so far been accepted by the Kabaka's Government. The proposals are to appoint Katikiro, the Kabaka's chief Minister, as registration officer, who should then appoint the chiefs as his assistants; thus they would derive their authority from the Chief Minister. Next, on the advice of Katikiro, the Government would appoint a Muganda as magistrate. He would then be able to administer an oath of secrecy which would not conflict with their traditional loyalties. (*Manchester Guardian*, February 2, 1958.)

The Department of Information reported (March 5, 1958) that registration of voters in Buganda had to be postponed because of the continued failure to reach agreement with the Kabaka's Government over the organization of electoral registration. A seven-man committee was appointed by the Kabaka's Government to seek further discussions between the Lukiko and Her Majesty's Government.

Summarizing the present situation in regard to direct elections the Department of Information said: "It will be recalled that the Legislative Council (Elections) Ordinance, passed in October 1957, provides for direct elections in all districts which want them, except Karamoja. (Karamoja is a backward district in Northern Province which has no representative but has its interests served by a back-bench member). Later, Ankole District, which has two members, and Bugisu district which has one, decided against holding direct elections. This reduced the number of electoral districts from eighteen to fifteen.

"Thus the present registration of voters is for the election next October or November of fifteen out of the eighteen African representative members of the Legislative Council.

"Certain simple qualifications are required of voters. They must be 21, must reside in the electoral district in which they want to vote, and must satisfy one other requirement concerning land, money, work or education. It is estimated that at least 80 per cent of the men and 20 per cent of the women will qualify under these conditions. There is no provision for absentee voting."

The Buganda Electoral College, having declined to elect a successor to Dr. E. M. K. Muwazi, who resigned from the Legislative Council in January, called on the other Buganda Representative Member Mr. Y. Bamuta to resign but he did not do so.

The Progressive Party¹ has announced that it does not support the resignation of Representative Members from Uganda Legislative Council. In a letter addressed to the Katikiro of Buganda, the president of the Party, Mr. E. M. K. Mulira, said Uganda must achieve self-government as one country, of which the Legislative Council is the centre. Mr. Mulira said that his Party wished to place on record its ideas about the Legislative Council and future self-government. It was "beyond doubt" that Uganda would be self-governing and independent, like Ghana; what remained was a question of timing, which depended on the policies and practices adopted now.

Some factions in the country had said that the Legislative Council would lead to East African Federation. "This is nonsense," Mr. Mulira added. "The Legislative Council leads to self-government, and self-government is the greatest deterrent against the kind of federation which all of us feared some time back. But as we approach self-government as we now do, the terror of the federation recedes."

The Progressive Party believes in "transforming" the Legislative Council, and not in destroying it. "We believe in making it more and more representative, until the African will dominate it, and through it govern the country."

¹A Liberal, left of centre party, principally in Buganda.

For this reason, the Party is insisting that next year there shall be twenty-four representative seats out of sixty, and that in 1961 there shall be ninety-eight representative seats out of a possible 110.

Whether Dr. Muwazi's seat is filled does not matter to the Legislative Council, Mr. Mulira adds. "If it is not filled it only means that Buganda will have one less voice in the Council, and Dr. Muwazi is entirely to blame for that," he said.

Resolutions condemning Dr. E. M. K. Muwazi for "retreating from the battlefield" of the Legislative Council and deploring the decision of the Buganda Electoral College not to elect another Member to the Council were passed at a meeting convened at Mengo Social Centre near Kampala, by Mr. Kivu Omutaka Ndirakumazima, chairman of the "Seekers of Truth and Peace for the Country".

The Democratic Party¹ announced its disagreement with the Buganda College's call to all the Buganda Representative Members to resign from Uganda Legislative Council. This view was contained in a statement issued by Mr. J. C. Kiwanuka, secretary-general of the Party. He said the Party is "very strongly opposed" to a "multi-racial Government which might be introduced through racial reservation of seats", while they wanted more African Representative seats.

The Party, however, did not agree that Dr. E. M. K. Muwazi did the right thing in resigning from the Council. "It must be realized that the Legco is ours (the people of Uganda) of which Buganda is one part. Withdrawing Buganda representatives from the Legco will be to our disadvantage," it adds.

The United Congress Party,² however, suspended Mr. Y. Bamuta from the Party because of his refusal to resign his seat on the Legislative Council. In a letter to Mr. Bamuta, the permanent secretary of the Party, Mr. L. K. Senkezi, said that the executive committee had decided to suspend him because, when he was instructed by the Buganda Electoral College to resign from the Council, he promised that he would do so on December 31, but had failed to fulfil that promise. (*Uganda Argus*, January 3-11, 1958.)

On February 11, the United Congress Party announced that it would participate in the 1958 direct elections to the Legislative Council. *The Times* (February 12, 1958) reported: "It was the resignation of two members of this Party that precipitated the recent deadlock, the Buganda Electoral College refusing to fill the vacant Buganda seat. The resignations and the Party's support of the Electoral College's attitude brought the Party some *kudos*, but not the desired constitutional crisis. The reason given for the present *volte-face*, which had been expected, is the need to unseat members of the present Council who would not follow their lead. It is added that members of the United Congress Party, if elected, will not accept Ministerial posts or continue to sit in the Council unless there is some immediate constitutional advance.

"The Party's sudden change of tactics is likely to infuriate Buganda's neotraditionalists, its momentary allies in the Electoral College affair, who have never wanted to have anything to do with the Legislative Council. The gulf, indeed, between the neotraditionalists and the political parties is now marked. The Democratic Party has already been alienated by the Kabaka's failure to appoint its president, Mr. Mugwanya, to the seat in the Lukiko to which he was elected; the Progressive Party by the protracted case against its president, Mr. Mulira, for insulting the Kabaka, which he has now won; and the Uganda National Congress by the charge against its chairman, Mr. Kiwanuka, that he plotted to assassinate the Kabaka; the further stages of this case are still indefinitely postponed.

"The neotraditionalists' power, however, should not be underestimated. Their focal point is the newly formed council of the clan heads, which was given the old Lukiko hall, alongside the Kabaka's palace, when the Lukiko moved eighteen months ago to its magnificent new building on a neighbouring hill. By their power to alter wills, the clan heads can exercise a hold over any man of property. Several of them last week issued a statement denouncing those who joined political parties.

"These things are being stored in the memory of the political parties, but the parties are chary, for the moment, of starting an open quarrel."

In an attempt to end the deadlock in their election preparations the Protectorate Government sent a note to Buganda's Prime Minister asking

for unequivocal answers to the following questions: Does the Kabaka's Government adhere to its expressed wish that Buganda should take part in the forthcoming direct elections? Is it prepared effectively to assist the Protectorate Government in organizing these elections? Is it prepared to instruct its chiefs, in order that they can render effective assistance, to accept appointments as assistant registration officers in the manner suggested (that is by making the appointments through the Katikiro of Buganda, to overcome the chiefs' objections to receiving an appointment from the Protectorate Government) and make the required affirmation binding them to secrecy (before a Buganda magistrate of the Protectorate courts)?

After a stormy meeting the Lukiko then decided to postpone indefinitely the election preparations until talks between the Lukiko and the British Government could be held on the composition of the Legislative Council and the introduction of a common roll with safeguards for minority communities.

The Church and Politics

Views on the relationship of religion to politics were expressed by both the Bishop of Uganda, the Rt. Rev. Leslie Brown, and the Governor, Sir Frederick Crawford, when they spoke at the opening of the Diocesan Conference at the Native Anglican Church.

The Governor said: "I do feel there is need in this country to keep politics out of religion. I have already seen here a tendency for politics to divide on denominational lines. I do not wish to say much about this difficult subject, except this: that if political parties and politics do divide on religious lines, then I as administrator see great danger."

This view was shared by the Bishop, who said: "It will be a very bad thing for this country if politics become closely tied up with religious differences. This has ruined other countries and has caused many to reject the Christian Gospel."

But he did not believe that church-goers should ignore politics. "On the contrary, I believe true Christians ought to offer themselves for election to the councils which govern the nation at every level, from Miruka Councils to Legislative Council," he said. "They will not have a particular party line. They should be men who try to think out the problems of the nation in a really Christian way. Certainly Christians ought to enter political parties and do all they can to see that their parties respect truth and justice and freedom for all men."

When self-government came to Uganda, the Church would have a greater responsibility than ever. During the next few years, the biggest problem facing it would be its relation to the State.

On another occasion the Bishop on the Upper Nile, the Rt. Rev. Usher-Wilson, said that no denomination of the Church should ever intrigue to get its own favourites into political power. Speaking at a Church conference organized in collaboration with Makerere Extra-Mural Department, he said: "It is often said that the Church should keep out of politics." The rightness or wrongness of this depends on the interpretation that is given to "Church". If by Church is meant the ecclesiastical organization, it is true that as such it should not interfere with the instrument of Government, although it has the right, like any other group, to protest against violations of fundamental human rights by the State.

First and foremost, the Church must emphasize what is taught in the Bible, that its members should obey the existing Government in its task, particularly in maintaining law and order.

Equally, the Church has a duty to teach its members to resist racial or tribal discriminations or any other colour-bar. Colour, however, must not be confused with culture. . . . Sin is not confined to any one race in politics, any more than in any other part of man's life; therefore the Church must be impartial in its denunciation of any form of discrimination.

The Church must teach that freedom of thought in political affairs is a fundamental right of man consistent with the Christian principle of the worth of every individual in the sight of his Creator. But this does not mean that every opinion is of equal value, for obviously an ignorant and inexperienced person, whether political or any other wisdom, cannot be equal with one versed in political affairs. (*Uganda Argus*, January 9 and 31, 1958.)

¹Predominantly Roman Catholic and Baganda.

²Breakaway from the Uganda National Congress.

Education Trends

Sir Christopher Cox, Educational Adviser to the Colonial Secretary, said at a press conference in Kampala (December 16, 1957) that Uganda's policy on inter-racial education was that from the beginning of 1958 all secondary schools would be open to children of all races, provided that the admission of the children was not retarded by linguistic or other reasons, and that the children who would normally be going to a school did not lose their places as a result of a new policy. At the primary level it was more difficult because of language.

Sir Christopher said that at the top level of training for technologists the numbers in Uganda did not justify a separate institution, and he felt the Royal Technical College at Nairobi was the right place to train engineers to the full professional level at this moment. The junior secondary intake point was now the biggest "pressure point" in African education in Uganda, he said.

The de Bunsen plan was a "comprehensive and vigorous educational programme involving high expenditure", Sir Christopher said. The picture today was one of fulfilment. A central feature of the plan had been teacher training, aiming at a great increase in the numbers of trained teachers but from a small number of teacher training colleges. The plan had envisaged the production of 1,100 Grade I teachers annually by 1958. The figure actually reached was about 900.

Expansion of primary places had been going ahead at the rate of 20,000 a year.

The de Bunsen plan was for 500 pupils leaving Secondary VI at the end of 1957, and present enrolment suggested the figure would increase "pretty speedily" over the three remaining years of the plan. It was possible that by the end of 1961 Uganda would be approaching an output of something like 1,000 of the senior secondary level, which would be double the 1957 target.

In the education of women and girls, he was puzzled that there were not relatively more girls in the senior secondary stage, as there were plenty of places available.

"I see a surprisingly small number of students taking the B.Sc. in science," he said. "Unless you are very careful, East Africa is going to be short, at this crucial period, of those who are going into research institutions or who are going to be teaching science in the secondary schools." He described science teaching in secondary schools as the foundation of applied scientific work.

Sir Christopher described the starting of honours courses at Makerere the beginning of a School of Agriculture with its own degrees, and recognition of the Makerere medical qualification by the General Medical Council as "major achievements". To these and other developments could be added the development of "hall life" and the "excellent start" of the work in the extra-mural department. Sir Christopher said he was glad that British capital contributions of about £2,250,000 over the current and previous five-year periods had helped to make possible the College's expansion.

Makerere College's Institute of Education has asked Professor Brian Stanley, Director of the Education Institute at Durham University, to advise on stepping up the output of secondary teachers and on how the Institute can best use its £50,000 grant from the Nuffield Foundation.

The Nuffield Foundation granted £10,000 for an Institute of Education building and £40,000 for one or more research fellowships in education. (*Uganda Argus*, December 17, 18, 1957, and January 29, 1958.)

Control of Chief's Actions

New regulations under the District Administration Ordinance for the disciplining of Chiefs, giving Provincial Commissioners the power to order an inquiry if an appointments committee does not take action when this appears to be merited, have been introduced. Another section of the new regulations gives the Provincial Commissioner power to vary or set aside a punishment, or to order a fresh inquiry, if he considers that a decision of a local committee is unsound.

These provisions have been inserted in a new drafting of the District Administration (Chiefs Disciplinary) Regulations, replacing the original regulations promulgated early last year.

Until now, the initiating of disciplinary proceedings against Chiefs has been entirely in the hands of local appointments committees.

The new regulations will apply to all districts except Buganda, Toro, Busoga, Bukedi, Karamoja and Mbale Township.

A Government spokesman said the new provisions had been introduced after consideration of the operation of the original regulations. It was considered necessary to enable the Protectorate Government to take action against Chiefs in cases where there appeared to be misconduct, but where no action had been taken by a disciplinary committee of the local appointments committee. (*East African Standard*, December 27, 1958.)

Successful Appeal

Mr. E. M. K. Mulira, President of the Progress Party, has succeeded in his appeal against conviction for calling a meeting with the intention of publicly insulting the Kabaka.¹

Mr. D. Jakana, president of the Kyadondo Electoral College, also succeeded in his appeal against a similar conviction, but his conviction for calling a public meeting without permission was upheld.

The two had appealed to the Mengo Principal Court against the decision of the local Buganda magistrate at Nabweru.

The judges ordered that fines of 1,200s. imposed on both Mulira and Jakana for "conspiring together to call a meeting to insult the Kabaka", be refunded. The remaining fine of 100s., imposed on Jakana for calling a meeting without permission, was upheld. Jakana later announced he would appeal further against this decision. (*Uganda Argus*, February 1, 1958.)

Favourable Trade Balance

When final figures are available, the Department of Trade has stated, Uganda's total trade for 1957 is likely to have exceeded £70 million in value. There should be a favourable trade balance of between £16 million and £17 million.

Imports are likely to be about the same as 1956—around £28 million—but exports should be some £5 million more and total about £45 million. The probable increase is attributed to the good coffee crop.

General economic conditions were better in 1957 than in the previous year, due to increased payments made to African cotton and coffee growers. Final coffee payments were about £11½ million and cotton about £13½ million. Over-all, this was about £3 million more than in 1956.

The total turnover of co-operative societies in Uganda during 1957 was about £5 million. The number of societies rose to 1,407 during the year—an increase of 141. (*Uganda News*, March 1, 1958.)

Somalia

U.N. Visiting Mission

THE question of ensuring adequate financial aid for the future state of Somalia when Italy relinquishes its stewardship in 1960 was one of the main issues studied by a United Nations visiting mission which toured the area last July and August. In its report to the Trusteeship Council, the mission recounted discussions with Somalia's Government leaders and the administering authority concerning the country's bleak economic situation. The mission underlined the Somali people's paramount concern over the question of securing financial and technical aid after the attainment of independence. They "hoped and expected" that the United Nations will help them in solving their economic problems. It has been estimated that the country will need between 4 and 5 million dollars a year for perhaps ten years after 1960, in order to meet the deficit in ordinary and development expenditures.

Only last December the General Assembly asked the Trusteeship Council to continue study of economic aid for Somaliland, in consultation with the administering authority and the Somalia Government, and to report to the General Assembly at its 1958 session.

Somaliland, which was placed under Trusteeship by a General Assembly decision in 1949, covers an area roughly the size of California. Eighty per cent of its population is regarded as nomadic or semi-nomadic. Much of

¹DIGEST IV, 4; V, 3.

the country is arid and it has been estimated that little more than 10 per cent of the land area is cultivable. Irrigation is a paramount problem. There are no lakes and only two rivers of any size. The long barren coastline has few harbours. Indigenous economy is largely based on the raising of camels, cattle, sheep and goats and, to a smaller extent, on a simple form of hoe agriculture practised on dry-land farms and in the area of the two rivers—the Webbi Shebeli and the Juba. The territory's crops include maize, millet, oil seeds, rice, sugar cane, cotton and bananas. Possibilities of expanding irrigation farming is limited by the considerable seasonal fluctuation in the volume of water carried by the rivers and the absence of natural dam sites.

The main population centres are located in the central area, between the two rivers. Some of these, such as Mogadiscio—the capital—Merca, Brava and Chisimaio, are coastal towns with a long tradition of trade with neighbouring countries. Long periods of drought are common and food shortages are a constant menace.

The mission considered that the over-all progress achieved in the development of the basic institutions of government of the future state has been "highly commendable", particularly in view of the brief span of time within which this development is taking place.

The mission suggested that a greater measure of moderation and statesmanship on the part of political leaders seemed necessary if further steady progress in all fields was to be ensured.

Describing the educational position, the mission's report said that in 1950 there were only twenty-nine primary schools in the entire territory, attended by about 3,000 pupils. Now, according to a recent U.N.E.S.C.O. survey, there are 135 primary schools, while the enrolment of children in 1956-7 had risen to 12,557. In order to meet the great demand for teachers, the Teacher-Training School has stepped up its training courses. In 1956-7 there were 196 Italian and 320 Somali teachers in service, as compared with 105 and 111 respectively in 1952-3.

Important strides have also been made in vocational and higher education. The mission was informed that 160 students were enrolled in the Higher Institute of Legal and Economic Studies, the only institution of higher education in the territory, for the 1957-8 school year. Moreover, 37 Somalis were pursuing university studies in Italy last August. (*U.N. Review*, February, 1958.)

Ethiopia-Somaliland Frontier

The U.N. General Assembly adopted unanimously a resolution on the question of the frontier between Ethiopia and Somaliland recommending that an arbitration tribunal be established "to delimit the frontier in accordance with terms of reference to be agreed between the two Governments, with the assistance of an independent person to be appointed by agreement between them". The tribunal, to be set up within three months if possible, would consist of three jurists, one to be appointed by Ethiopia, one by Italy, and one by agreement between these two jurists. If they fail to agree, the third jurist would be appointed by King Olav of Norway. (*U.N. News Release No. 52/57*, December 23, 1957.)

British Somaliland

Complaints about Slow Progress

J. B. SLADE BAKER (*Sunday Times*, February 23, 1958) said that as a result, especially, of the slow pace of Somalization and constitutional reform, British Somaliland was moving swiftly to a crisis.

"The advances in Somalization and constitutional reform in French Somaliland and Somalia (under Italian trusteeship) have been jealously compared with the few hesitant steps taken by the Government of British Somaliland. In Somalia all district and provincial commissioners, all police officers, the whole of the Legislative Assembly and all Ministers are Somalis and in French Somaliland the authorities have held elections which have resulted in Somalis and Danakils being given Ministerial appointments. In British Somaliland, however, there is nothing comparable to this progress, apart from a Legislative Council. . . .

"The lack of educational facilities—there is only one secondary school in the entire country—compares with approximately 150 vacancies for secondary and university education offered by Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia, and twenty scholarships by India. . . .

"The demand for immediate self-government by the Somali National League, the largest political party in the country and the one most susceptible to external pressures, is a measure of the growing fear that when British Somaliland and Somalia unite (to the League there is no question of 'if') the British Somali's lack of administrative experience will result in his own territory being governed by others, and that in the allotment of Ministerial and Governmental appointments he will be superseded by his more sophisticated brethren in Mogadishu. . . .

"Apparent British indifference to popular demands is taken by moderate Somali opinion as evidence of a frightening lack of political imagination. For example, Lord Lloyd's declaration of policy issued nearly two years ago still represents the views of the British Government today, yet it bears about the same relation to the exigencies of the moment as Mr. Chamberlain's comment in 1940 that 'Hitler had missed the bus'. Even the loyal and moderate Dr. Mariano, leader of the National United Front, has referred to the Lloyd declaration as 'a mere paraphrase of every Government statement on the subject for the past fifteen years'

"A commission was set up to consider how the Legislative Council can be made more representative; the extent by which Somalization can be expedited is under examination and a blue-print is expected to be available in some eight or nine months' time; £500,000 is to be spent this year and £800,000 next year on general development, as compared with an average of some £60,000 a year up to 1955-6 and £140,000 in 1955-7; and twelve elementary and four intermediate schools for boys and girls are to be built as soon as possible."

Parliamentary Delegation

After the formation of the Legislative Council in May 1957 its members affiliated to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Delegation. During March 1958, two members of the U.K. branch of the C.P.A. visited Somaliland, Mr. Bernard Braine, M.P. (Conservative) and Mr. Austen Albu, M.P. (Labour). (*War Somali Sidihi*, February 8, 1958.)

French Somaliland

Current Trends

LEO SILBERMAN wrote (*Observer Foreign News Service*, January 21, 1958): "France built up a vast empire in West Africa, but occupies on the east coast of Africa only the port-colony of Jibouti, or as it is officially called, the Côte des Somalis Français. All French overseas territories are in the public eye, but this Red Sea post is now caught up in the speculations of what will happen to the Somali territories shared by Italy, Ethiopia, Britain and France. And it has troubles of its own."

"For a long time, French Somaliland showed no evidence of political activity. The administration was wholly colonial and for most of the colonial administrators one of the least desirable colonies. The climate, even in winter, is hot and sticky, and Arrat, the little upland resort outside the port, while it offers some cool winds, offers nothing else. Now the application of the *loi-cadre* (the framework law providing liberal constitutional reforms for the French Somalis) has made this a complicated, politically alive city-state. It has its own native-born Ministers and vice-president (as the Premier is referred to in the territory) leaving the French Governor as President of the Council of Ministers. The weather is still hot, but complaints by the French businessmen are mainly directed towards the new Ministerial experiment."

"Several of the seven Somali and Danakil Ministers are illiterate. According to the French administrators serving under them, this is annoying, but does not deprive the Cabinet of intelligence and goodwill. M. Mahmoud Harbi, as Vice-President, and M. Ali Coubeche as Minister of Finance, show great flexibility of mind and originality. The former is a Somali with the seemingly natural gift for politics of the Somali people, as

well as their quickness of grasp of essentials; the latter is an experienced businessman who is an Arab with a Somali grandmother.

"It is the combination of Somalis, Danakils and Arab financial support that won M. Harbi's Union Republicaine so much support in the recent elections. Sixty-nine per cent of the electorate voted in this small territory of 65,000 inhabitants. The Union Republicaine won a majority in all three constituencies and thus has no opposition in the Territorial Assembly. But since the other two parties have complained of irregularities in the elections, the territory may have new elections quite soon.

"The accusations of malpractices are all the more awkward as the port depends for its future on the confidence it can inspire in business and shipping circles. M. Coubeche wishes to make this a haven of refuge for all enterprises operating in the Red Sea area, Ethiopia and the Somalilands. The Somali franc is based on the dollar and freely convertible. There is no income tax, only a licence which businesses must annually pay. Customs duties are small. As Ethiopia develops, Jibouti at the end of the Franco-Ethiopian railway line should get increasing business. The port has been modernized. But though politics are the most immediate worry, it is for economic reasons too that the 'Coubeche Plan' is not so easy to realize.

"The port was badly hit by the Suez crisis. Aden, always larger and more important, has had another filip by the £50 million investment for the oil refinery. Ethiopia, nervous of any coastal region in which Somalis are given political rights, is developing her own harbour close by; Assab is being extended with the help of the Yugoslav Government. Commodities which can be shipped by road from Addis Ababa and Desse are now pushed through Assab. French subsidies to the territory may tail off. They make up to 10 per cent of the annual budget of £500,000.

"To these anxieties are added those of Somali nationalism. M. Harbi is a realist, but he also has a keen interest in the plans for a Greater Somalia, so much spoken about in Italian and British Somali circles. He is a deputy in the Paris Chamber, but has come out quite openly in favour of a union of all Somalis. This cannot but annoy Ethiopia. The ordinary Somali does rate the Ethiopian Government very high, expecting rather that it will disintegrate after the Emperor's death, and the rich hinterland of Jibouti as far as Harar and even the Awash River join, as Muslim parts of Ethiopia, the Greater Somalia desired by the nationalists.

"Meanwhile, the negotiations between the French owners of the Jibouti-Addis railway, mainly the Banque de l'Indochine, and the Ethiopians are making little headway, due to a discrepancy of what the Banque wants to sell the railway for and what price the Ethiopians are willing to pay for the stretch that runs over their territory. The latter price is half that of the French offer. The French notion is somehow to link Ethiopian interests closer to the port of Jibouti.

"Internally—and the new Somali Government is restricted to the running of internal affairs with M. Harbi holding the joint office of Head of Government and Public Works—the big problem is unemployment. Immigration from the neighbouring British Protectorate and Ethiopia cannot be controlled. Like other ports there is a large 'spiv' element, who with their petty crime and begging inconvenience the public, already made irritable by physical and political conditions.

"M. Harbi has succeeded in raising wages by 150 per cent but in office is faced by further wage demands. He is himself a man of property. Like the politicians in the two other Somalilands, the French Somali Government is exceedingly young; M. Harbi is under 30. What it lacks in confidence from the French business world, it makes up in self-confidence, another characteristic of the Somalis, whose *savoir-faire* must impress anyone who knows them. It has won the respect of the French administration, as Somalis have already captured the respect of the long-resident administrator in British and Italian Somalia. The question now before the territory is whether nationalism and commercial sense can be somehow combined."

SUDAN

General Elections

As a result of the General Elections the Umma Party led by Abdullah Khalil, the outgoing Premier, increased its share of seats in the Sudanese Parliament, but failed to get an absolute majority. The figures were as

follows: Umma, 63; National Unionist Party, 45; People's Democratic Party, 27; Liberals, 20; Southern Federal, 1; Anti-Imperialist Front, 1; Independent, 1; Uncommitted Southern members, 16.

Dr. Khali said that he would form a coalition of the Umma, People's Democratic and Liberal parties.

The *Manchester Guardian* (March 12, 1958) said: "The outcome of the election is in part a rebuff to Egyptian pretensions, in part a recognition of the prudent and capable administration of the retiring Government. The position in the Southern Provinces is, however, still very uncertain. Although the Prime Minister expects to have the support of a fair number of Southern members, all the three Ministers who came from the South failed of re-election; the South, though no longer in turmoil, is still far from satisfied with the rule of Khartoum."

Before the elections *The Times* (January 28 and February 28, 1958) reviewed the position. Approximately 4 per cent of the total population is literate, voting was direct; at the last election in 1953 many areas voted through electoral colleges and the election was supervised by an international body. This time the elections were supervised by a Sudanese commission of three. Each member has a constituency of 40,000-60,000 people. The election was both for the House of Representatives (173 members) and the Senate (thirty elected members out of a total of fifty; the other twenty are nominated by the five-man Supreme Commission which, pending a final constitution, has taken over from the Governor-General the function of head of State). Men over the age of 21 were entitled to vote for members of the House of Representatives; for the Senate the age qualification was 30. To help illiterate voters the candidates were represented at the polling stations by symbols. The ballot was secret. Candidates put up a deposit of £520.

The main parties represented were: *Umma (People's) Party*. Founded 1945. Campaigns for complete independence without any links with Egypt. Associated with Sayed Abdul Rahman al Mahdi and his followers of the Ansar order. Particularly strong where Mahdist traditions are strong. Foreign policy: "Positive neutrality; better understanding with Egypt and closest collaboration with neighbour countries, such as Libya and Ethiopia; Arab unity within the Arab League; collaboration with all African States". These principles do not rule out close trade and economic relations with Britain and America. Leaders, Sayed Abdullah Khalil (the Prime Minister) Sayed Ibrahim Ahmad (Minister of Finance and Economics) Sayed Mohamed Ahmad Mahgoub (Foreign Minister).

National Unionist Party.—Developed out of the former Ashigga Party (founded 1944) which advocated union of Sudan and Egypt under the Egyptian Crown. Originally associated with Sayed Ali al Mirghani, head of the Khatmia order, and his followers. At 1953 elections drew support from many who opposed union with Egypt but feared that an Umma victory might mean creation of a Sudanese monarchy with Abdul Rahman al Mahdi as king. The Khatmia element declined after Ali al Mirghani joined in 1956 with Abdul Rahman al Mahdi to advocate an all-party Government. (See People's Democratic Party.)

The N.U.P. is particularly strong in the "three towns" (Khartoum, Omdurman, and North Khartoum) and among officials and professional classes, etc. Foreign policy: Bilateral defence pact with Egypt; "co-ordination of foreign policy with Egypt based on positive neutrality"; boycott of all military pacts, especially the Baghdad Pact. Leader, Ismail al Azhari, Prime Minister during the transition to independence 1953-6.

People's Democratic Party.—Formed in the summer of 1956 by a break-away of Khatmia elements in N.U.P. which resulted in the overthrow of the al Azhari Government. In July 1956 took office in coalition Government with Umma, Southern Liberals and Socialist Republican Party. Leaders Ali Abdul Rahman and Mirghani Hamza.

Southern Liberals.—Main block representing interests of non-Arab and mainly non-Muslim Sudanese of the southern provinces. Loosely organized as a party and at present divided into two main parts—the Orthodox Liberals, who usually support the Umma (leader Benjamin Lwoki, Minister of Works); and the Dissident Liberals, who may be expected to support the N.U.P. (leader Stanislaus Paysama). The main demands of the south are for a greater share of the development programmes and for a federal Sudanese State in which the southern regions would enjoy separate and equal status with the northern.

Anti-Imperialist Front.—Marxist. Enjoys support among trade unionists and students. Generally backs the Nasser line in foreign politics. Socialist Republican Party. Founded 1951 with support of many tribal leaders, some of whom advocated Sudanese membership of British Commonwealth: largely merged in Umma.

National Liberation Party.—Formed only a few months ago. Supported by members of the family of the Khalifah (successor of the Mahdi and defeated at Omdurman in 1898). Violently anti-Umma.

Basil Davidson (*Manchester Guardian*, February 28, 1958) commented on the key problem of the relation between Arab north and non-Arab south and said "there is still a long way to go before full confidence can be established. It is probably true that the south is united in its claim for federation—as united, perhaps, as such a congeries of people ever can be: yet the general sentiment among northerners is that federation means separation, and is therefore not to be entertained. Perhaps both sides, or at any rate their wiser heads, know that regional autonomy is the real answer; but neither, at the moment, cares to admit it—the one asks for more and the other offers less."

Border Dispute

A dispute arose over some 600 square miles of territory north of the 22nd parallel. By the original Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1899 on the administration of the Sudan the boundary between Egypt and the Sudan was laid down as the 22nd parallel. Three years later, by administrative decree of the Governor-General, two areas north of the parallel were transferred to the Sudan. One was on the Nile, the other on the Red Sea. The transfers were made, it appears, for the convenience of the inhabitants. (*The Times*, February 19, 1958.) The dispute centred on whether the area could be regarded as part of constituencies in the Sudanese general election, or whether they were Egyptian and therefore a plebiscite should be held there to decide the presidency of the new Syrian-Egyptian Federation.

The Times (February 21, 1958) said: "According to the Egyptian statement, Egyptian sovereignty was to be preserved over these areas. But occupation and administration are in international law two of the factors that go to the determination of sovereignty. The Sudanese might therefore argue with equal force that fifty-six or more years of undisputed occupation and administration constitute a prescriptive right to these areas."

The Sudan Embassy in London issued a statement saying that one of the issues involved was the fact that "as a result of the Nile waters negotiations, it has become clear that Sudan will claim compensation for the flooding of the area north of Wadi Halfa because of the High Dam". The Sudan Government has throughout the negotiations on the Nile waters refused to give its assent to the Aswan High Dam proposals unless the shares of Egypt and Sudan in the extra water made available are fixed in advance. Since the recent breakdown of talks in Cairo, Ethiopia has invited all States concerned in the Nile Valley to a conference.

After discussions in Cairo and Khartoum the Sudan asked for the good offices of the Arab League and the U.N. Security Council "to stop impending aggression". Two hours before the Security Council meeting was due to open, the Egyptian delegation to the U.N. made an official statement saying that the Egyptian Government had "decided to postpone the settling of the frontier question till after the Sudanese elections".

Later, the Sudanese Government announced that Egyptian troops which it had accused of occupying Sudanese territory in the area of Abu Ramadi, near the Red Sea coast, were withdrawing and that the Sudanese Governor had hauled down the Egyptian flag. (*Manchester Guardian*, February 26, 1958.)

International Work Camp

An international work camp consisting of twenty-eight Sudanese and volunteer participants from Sweden, Switzerland, Norway, U.S.A., Germany and Finland have built a girls' school at Souriba. They had the help and co-operation of local villagers, the rural Council, the Gezira Board and the Sudanese Ministry of Education. The project was sponsored by a Swedish Work Camp organization. (*Sudanese News Bulletin*, February 6, 1958.)

SOUTH AFRICA

Archbishop Condemns Apartheid

THE Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Joost de Blank, in the February issue of *Good Hope*, the official organ of the Diocese of Cape Town, said: "Not till a man lives in South Africa can he separate the elaborate theorizing to which he has been subjected—often couched in exalted idealistic language—for the hard reality. Here he sees it in action for himself. Here he sees that the out-working of *apartheid* is not a working policy of a fair and just separation of races in different areas, as conceived and explained by bodies like the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs or the Dutch Reformed Church, but is rather the maintenance and consolidation of White domination and European privilege. Nothing could reveal this more clearly than my recent experience at Windermere (an African and Coloured township near Cape Town). I was told that in its laudable efforts to clear up Windermere the City Council was ruthlessly demolishing the wretched *pondokkies*¹ in which so many live, and was separating man and wife by directing the man to 'bachelor' quarters at Langa and telling the woman to make her own way back (very probably with some children) to the Native reserves in the Transkei and elsewhere.

"On investigation we were left in no doubt through its officers that the City Council was acting as humanely as possible. But there is bound to be inhumanity when the law itself is inhuman. Only those with permission to work here can be allowed to stay. Migrant labourers are needed and therefore welcome, but family units are not encouraged. Christians cannot but condemn a policy which involves the deliberate breaking up of families, and families are bound to be broken up when migrant labour is approved but the provision of permanent homes for parents and their children is not normally allowed.

"This is the inevitable result of the iniquities of Section 10 of the Native Urban Areas Act, as amended, which has further evil consequences. No African can of right remain in a designated area more than seventy-two hours unless he can comply with several stringent conditions. Moreover, he will be presumed to be in such an area illegally unless he can demonstrate his right to be there. In other words, he will be deemed guilty until he can prove himself innocent. This is a form of peace-time legislation of which no civilized country can be proud.

"I find it hard to believe, yet there may be much more to be said for *apartheid* than I have hitherto understood or realized. It might be possible to work out a fair and just division of territory by common discussions and mutual agreement between the races, but I am quite certain that as a Christian I shall never be able to discover any justification for 'baasskap' or 'White supremacy'. I can understand a principle of trusteeship during the minority of the beneficiary, but I cannot accept a principle of 'permanent baasskap' in any form or guise. This is the point where the issue forces itself on the individual Christian conscience and on the life of the Church as a whole. European domination we utterly reject as inhuman and un-Christian.

"I have to admit with shame that I have been told of certain congregations where *apartheid* operates. I do not and cannot believe it—but if it were ever proved to me that *apartheid* does in fact operate in any Church in this diocese, let me state with all the emphasis at my command that I should do everything in my power to eradicate it, and in the intervening period while it still existed I should have to refuse any episcopal ministrations on behalf of the congregation concerned. . . .

"If we do not see Christ in our neighbour, whatever the colour of his skin, we have not begun to understand what Christianity is about." (*Pretoria News*, January 24, 1958.)

The *Manchester Guardian* (February 11, 1958) wrote: "The Archbishop . . . was immediately attacked in Parliament by the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Eric Louw, who declared that if Archbishop de Blank was sincere he would not tolerate Church schools run on a basis of *apartheid*. The Archbishop replied that if the legal barriers to having non-whites in the schools were repealed he would himself use his influence to find a *modus vivendi* by which all races could come together and learn to help one another in the schools.

¹Corrugated iron and wood hovels.

"The National Party immediately turned the full blast of its propaganda machine upon the Opposition United Party with a challenge to say whether or not the United Party agreed with the views of the Archbishop. For two days the United Party maintained an embarrassed silence while Nationalist spokesmen on public platforms and inside Parliament taunted it and attacked the Archbishop by turns. The Party then issued a statement declaring that it was against the establishment of mixed schools because of accepted practice in South Africa, and giving warning against the danger of a conflict between the Church and the State.

"In a reply to this declaration the Archbishop said that if *apartheid* was the result of the free deliberation and mutual agreement of all races concerned such voluntary *apartheid* would not fall under the condemnation of the Church. But he ruled out compulsory *apartheid* and white domination. He added that so far as the Anglican Church was concerned there was not the slightest chance of any conflict between Church and State. The Nationalist Party reacted to both the United Party's statement and the Archbishop's reply. While welcoming the United Party statement that it was against mixed schools, Nationalist spokesmen warned that a serious clash between the liberal element inside the Party which would support the Archbishop and the conservative element which was against mixed schools was imminent, and that the Party would be split from top to bottom. So far, however, no signs have appeared of any such clash and it is now known that a caucus meeting of the United Party members in Parliament unanimously endorsed the statement on mixed schools before it was issued.

"There seems little doubt that the effigy of the Archbishop will be prominently on parade at every Nationalist meeting between now and election day in the middle of April. He will be likened by Nationalist spokesmen to the famous missionary Dr. Philip, who more than a hundred years ago is supposed to have driven the Boers to trek off into the hinterland, who has become the favourite bogymen with every Nationalist schoolchild."

According to Mr. Louw, Archbishop de Blank consorts with "liberals and Left-wingers" and is helping to inspire an anti-South African campaign abroad. The Nationalists are astute enough to know that by attacking the Archbishop they are really indirectly attacking the English section of the community who are portrayed by the Nationalist Press as lurking behind a screen of renegade Afrikaners to form the United Party. "It is not without significance that a similar declaration on mixed schools to that of the Archbishop was issued by the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa more than six months ago, but provoked no comment whatever from Nationalist quarters.¹

"A further inducement for attacking Archbishop de Blank is the outside possibility of provoking English-speaking leaders of the United Party into defending the Archbishop in public and causing the split which the Nationalist Press considers imminent. Finally it is agreed among most political observers that the whole controversy over mixed schools has given Nationalist propagandists an opportunity of reviving *apartheid* which looked like flagging as an election issue. It will now once again become a major plank in the Nationalist platform."

The Bishop of Pretoria, the Rt. Rev. R. S. Taylor, said that the Archbishop's statement regarding eventual race integration in Anglican schools expressed the policy of the Church as a whole. It would remain for the individual school councils, however, to decide on the best means of implementing the policy, when it was legally possible to do so. (*Pretoria News*, February 6, 1958.)

Treason Inquiry²

All the ninety-five people who have been appearing at a preparatory examination on allegations of treason at the Drill Hall in Johannesburg were committed for trial. They pleaded not guilty and reserved their defence. Later, in the Rand Supreme Court, Mr. Justice Kuper made an order releasing them on bail of £250 each for Europeans, £100 each for Indians and £50 each for Africans and Coloureds.

When Mr. Oswald Pirow, Q.C. summed up the case for the Crown there was a prolonged commotion when he said: "It is fatuous to suppose that the police attack people who are just going about their peaceful business." The Magistrate warned spectators he might have to clear the

Court. Mr. Pirow said all the accused, as people who owed allegiance to the State, committed high treason by conspiring for the total subversion of the State. There was a "great deal of camouflage" of the accused' real object in drawing up the Freedom Charter.¹ On the face of it, the Charter was a Communist document and all the accused were either Communist or Communist sympathizers. The continual references to non-violence in speeches were irrelevant, and put in at times when they were not necessary for the real purpose of focusing attention on violence. Mr. Pirow concluded: "The evidence . . . is sufficient to disclose the existence of a dangerous Communist conspiracy aimed at the overthrow of the State and its replacement by a Communist people's republic. Such a conspiracy amounts to high treason."

All the accused elected to be tried by a judge and jury. This choice is subject to the provision of the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act that a special court of at least two and not more than three judges may be appointed to hear a charge of treason if the Attorney-General thinks that "if the accused were tried by jury, the ends of justice are likely to be defeated". Previous treason trials in the Union—all in time of war or rebellion—have all been heard by special courts. It is not yet known when or where the trial will be held, but it is expected to start about the middle of April. Thirteen days after the conclusion of the preliminary inquiry, the Attorney-General declined to prosecute four of those who had been committed for trial. They are Mr. Lee-Warden, M.P. (Natives' Representative), K. Moonsamy, I. C. Meer and the Real Printing and Publishing Company (publishers of *New Age*). In all, therefore, ninety-two people have been indicted and will go to trial. (*Pretoria News*, January 30, 31, and February 12, 1958.)

Mr. Lee-Warden said in an interview: "Now I can talk—a little. I have come out of this treason inquiry with mixed feelings, and my thoughts are very much with those who are still in it. No explanation has been given for my sudden arrest during the night of December 6, 1956. I have suffered heavy financial loss, and my counsel is taking up the question of compensation. During the months the treason inquiry was sitting my sessional payment as a M.P. was stopped. I had to make fifteen trips to Johannesburg, totalling 30,000 miles. I have never been a Communist party member. If I had been, the Nationalist Government would have 'named' me under the Suppression of Communism Act. But anyone with liberal ideas is suspect to them. When the police searched my house they seized, among other documents, a copy of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights."

Mr. Lee-Warden, 44, who was born in London and has lived in South Africa for twenty-two years, runs a publishing business. He was in the South African Army during the Second World War. (*Daily Telegraph*, February 18, 1958.)

The South African Coloured People's Organization has announced that Mr. Piet Beylerveld, president of the South African Congress of Democrats, has been nominated by the organization to stand for the Cape Peninsula Coloured seat in the forthcoming General elections. Mr. Beylerveld is one of the people committed for trial. (*Pretoria News*, January 20, 1958.)

Opening the second day of the auction sale³ for the Treason Trial Defence Fund the Archbishop of Cape Town said that he had associated himself with the fund after accepting the guidance of his predecessor (the Most Rev. Geoffrey Clayton) and of his conscience. It could be said that by so doing he was stepping down into the political arena—and it was a long way down. But it was not the case of churchmen stepping down into politics but of politicians stepping up into the theological arena. Politicians were not lawgivers but lawmakers. Their function was to make laws under God's laws. They could not make their own and claim them as God's. (*The Times*, February 3, 1958.)

New Age reported (January 30, 1958) that over £1,000 had been raised for the Fund "at a cultural evening and sale in Amsterdam of paintings, sculpture and books donated by Dutch artists". The function had been organized by a Special Committee whose chairman was the Rev. Dr. J. J. Buskes; it followed a concert in which leading Dutch artists had participated.

¹DIGEST V, 2. ²DIGEST IV, 4 and 5; V, 1-4.

³DIGEST III, 2. ⁴DIGEST V, 3.

A street collection organized by the Fund in Johannesburg realized £1,250. More than £400 of this was contributed in £5 and £1 notes. There were about 500 collectors. (*The Star*, January 31, 1958.)

Mr. Alan Paton, the South African author of *Cry the Beloved Country* told the annual meeting of Christian Action in London that the concern of people in Britain over the South African treason trials had been "in defence of a fundamental principle which has nothing to do with South Africa in particular, but free people in general". Mr. Paton is national chairman of South Africa's Liberal Party and sponsor and trustee of the Treason Inquiry Defence Fund. Referring to suggestions that assistance by Britons was an interference in the politics of another country, he said: "This concern of yours for things that are happening, far from being regarded by us over there as interference, is really a source of inspiration and encouragement to us." (*Manchester Guardian*, February 11, 1958.)

Counsel in Treason Trial Stabbed

Mr. V. Berrange, one of the leading defence counsel in the trial, has been taken to hospital after being stabbed in the back with a dagger. Police have been informed of the incident, which took place in a house in Johannesburg. Mr. Berrange is making satisfactory progress. (*Manchester Guardian*, March 8, 1958.)

Death Penalty Extended

Only seven members voted against the second reading of the Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill in the South African Assembly extending the death penalty to cases of robbery and housebreaking with violence. The Opposition United Party supported the Government. The seven who opposed the reading were the African representatives, the Labour members, and two Independents. Mr. Charles Swart, the Minister of Justice, denied that the Bill was a "reversion to barbarism". Britain had abolished the death penalty and reinstituted it in certain cases, he said. It could be applied in Kenya and Cyprus merely for possessing firearms. (*Manchester Guardian*, February 4, 1958.)

When the Assembly went into committee on the clause in the Bill providing that the production of documents in court may in specified circumstances be accepted as *prima facie* proof of the contents, Mr. D. E. Mitchell (U.P., Natal South Coast), asked if the purpose of this clause was to facilitate proceedings at present before the courts. If it was intended to facilitate the Crown's proceedings in the treason trial the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, was acting immorally. In reply to Mr. Swart's statement that the preparatory examination was over, Mr. Mitchell said that the real trial was not over, and the Opposition was entitled to know if this clause was intended to deal with proceedings which had already started.

Mr. Swart: "Quite possibly."

Mr. Mitchell said that the Minister, who was the prime mover in the case, was asking Parliament to pass a law which was going to make it easy to obtain a conviction. That was absolutely immoral. The Minister of Justice replied that he had only said that the clause could be used. (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 2, 1958.)

The *Star* (January 29 and 30, 1958) wrote: "Mr. Swart gave Parliament figures to show that last year—in which 230,000 cases of serious crime were reported and 57,000 went undetected—the police caught and brought to trial 1,500,000 people. This figure included 150,000 cases of assault and petty theft, but the big items in it comprise more than 500,000 cases under the curfew regulations, Native documents, Native Urban Areas Act regulations, Native tax and pass laws and the Masters and Servants and Native Labour Regulation Acts. These statistics . . . illustrate the Opposition contention that the police are so busy with statutory offences that they cannot adequately protect the public from robbers and other criminals. Of the many purely statutory offences on which the police spend so much of their time . . . those under the Native Taxation and Development Act give them most work. Last year they brought to trial nearly 178,000 Natives under this Act. Cases under this law increased from 93,000 in 1954 to 98,000 in 1955, and to 127,000 in 1956. Other laws which give the police a great deal of work are those dealing with illegal possession of Native liquor (168,000 cases last year) and trespass or intrusion (128,000 cases).

But the number of cases under those laws fluctuates widely from year to year. The Act under which cases are mounting fastest and most steadily is the Native Urban Areas Act which governs the entry of Natives into the towns. It caused 28,000 cases in 1954 and nearly 53,000 cases last year. Pass law offences, by contrast, have shown a slight though not steady drop since 1954. And so have those concerning registration and production of documents by Natives. This is attributed to the introduction of the reference book system. But cases under these laws are still voluminous. There were more than 100,000 of them last year.

Congress Movement

Mass rallies were held in February in all main centres of the Union when thousands of people of all races gathered to discuss the implementation of the Congresses' demand for a minimum wage of £1 a day for all workers.¹ Other items discussed included the pass laws, Government action at Zeerust, the Group Areas and Industrial Conciliation Acts and the forthcoming general election. Preparations were made for a National Conference of Workers. The Durban meeting was opened by Chief A. J. Luthuli, President of the African National Congress. (*New Age*, February 20, 1958.)

The *Times* and the *Rand Daily Mail* (March 17, 1958) reported that at an open-air meeting near Johannesburg, attended by 1,673 delegates, leaders of the non-White population of the Union decided to stage a week of "national protest and demonstration" from April 14, to coincide with the general elections; they will organize "a stay-at-home protest" public meetings, processions and mass deputations "in support of the people's demands". A resolution demanded an immediate end to all pass laws, the abolition of *apartheid*, an end to the Nationalist Government, and a voice in the government of the country. The Deputy President, Mr. D. Nyembe, appealed strongly to the conference to observe the Congress policy of non-violence, peace and good order.

Under regulations promulgated on March 17, the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, has been empowered to control the activities of the African National Congress and any other organization whose activities "are detrimental to the peace, order, and good government of Africans" living in Native areas. The A.N.C. (which claims to speak for 8 million Africans) is declared to be an unlawful organization in the specific areas set out by the Minister, including the troubled areas of the Marico-Zeerust and Sekukuniland districts. Property and documents belonging to the Congress may be impounded by the Native Commissioner, and any person who becomes or continues to be a member of an unlawful organization, or who takes any part in its activities, will be guilty of an offence; it is illegal for anyone to "carry, display, shout or utter Congress slogans or to make any sign indicating that he is a member. The penalty for contravention of the regulations is a fine not exceeding £300, or three months' imprisonment, or both. The regulations may be extended to other regions by a notice in the *Government Gazette*. (*The Times*, March 17 and 18, the *Manchester Guardian*, March 18, 1958.)

Forthcoming Elections

Contact (February 8, 1958) announced that Liberal Party candidates will contest the forthcoming general elections in three Parliamentary constituencies; the candidates are: Mr. J. S. Dey (Orange Grove), Mr. Gerald Gordon (Sea Point), and Mr. Peter Brown (Pietermaritzburg District).

"This is the first time since its formation in 1953 that the Liberal Party has had an opportunity of testing its strength among the White electorate at a general election. It has fought other elections, but only in the provincial and municipal fields and for the Natives Representatives' seats in Parliament, in which it won two of the three Assembly seats and two of the four Senate seats. The Liberal Party has chosen to oppose United Party candidates in 'safe' U.P. constituencies at this election because it does not want to split the anti-Nationalist vote by forcing three-cornered contests in marginal seats. A spokesman for the Liberal Party said his Party regarded the Nationalist Government as 'the greater evil' and would prefer to see a United Party government in power. But the Liberal Party could

¹DIGEST V, 4.

not stay out of the coming election fight altogether because if it did so South Africa would again be voting 'merely for a choice of degree'. The party wanted to give at least a portion of the White electorate an opportunity of voting on the simple issue of whether it wanted to perpetuate 'the immoral and dangerous system of White baasskap' or preferred to choose the path of reason and justice."

When the nomination lists for the election closed, twenty-four United Party candidates had been returned unopposed—ten in Cape Province, seven in Transvaal and seven in Natal. The constituencies concerned are urban and mainly English-speaking, and the Nationalists "have no chance in them". As a matter of policy the Nationalists concentrate funds and efforts on constituencies where they do have a chance. The U.P., as a matter of policy, is putting up candidates for all 156 seats in the Union and South-West Africa. The Labour Party, which had four seats in the House of Assembly at dissolution, having had an electoral agreement with the U.P. at the last general election, is now being opposed by that party and is putting up only two candidates. The state of the parties in the House at dissolution was: Nationalists, 96; U.P., 52; Labour, 4; Independents, 4; there were three Natives' Representatives (their seats will not be affected by the coming elections). Four Representatives for Coloured voters will be elected on April 3. (*The Times*, March 15, 1958.)

Pass System¹

African males already in employment who have not yet exchanged their passes for reference books have been advised to do so immediately; those who are unemployed have been told that they will not be given work unless they have the books, since details of employment, forming a service contract, have to be entered in them. "Exempted" Africans, who did not formerly carry passes, must apply for green-covered reference books. The new regulations apply to Africans over 16 who were born in the Union or in the High Commission Territories. (*Star*, February 3, 1958.)

The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, said that about 600,000 reference books had already been issued to Native women: this had been done in sixteen districts of the Transvaal, eight in Natal, thirty-nine in the Free State and seventy-five in the Cape. Only in two or three places had disturbances occurred, and "the cause of them had come from Johannesburg". Recent disturbances in the Linokana reserve in the Zeerust District had not been due to any real dissatisfaction among the Natives there, but to incitement by the African National Congress and the Rev. Charles Hooper, the Anglican parson at Zeerust. The facts showed it was untrue that Native women objected to being issued with reference books. (*Star*, January 28, 1958.)

Mrs. Barbara Castle, the British Labour M.P., the Rev. and Mrs. Charles Hooper, Mrs. Shulamith Muller (legal adviser to the Bafuruts tribe), her husband, and Mr. Arnold Selby of Johannesburg were fined £5 each for entering the Linokana reserve without permits. (*Star*, January 31, 1958.)

Dr. Verwoerd subsequently issued an order summarily prohibiting Father Hooper from entering any of the reserves adjoining the Bechuana-land border; a similar order was served on his wife, Mrs. Sheila Hooper. Father Hooper said that the order meant in effect that he was no longer allowed access to his flock: "Altogether there are 1,400 Anglican communicants in the area. Now I shall only be allowed to visit about 250 of them who are in the Zeerust location. My missionary work is essentially a job in the Native reserves, tribally-owned farms and trust lands in the Marico district. . . . Since the middle of December police in the district have made it increasingly embarrassing for me to visit my congregation. They have followed me in police cars whenever I have entered the reserves, have questioned my wife and me about our identity cards and have spread false rumours about us." (*Sunday Express*, March 9, 1958.)

Father Hooper, who is in his middle thirties, was born in the Union; he and his wife were formerly lecturers in English at the University of the Witwatersrand. He entered the Church in 1949 and was sent to Zeerust three and a half years ago. His identification with the Africans' struggle has led him into trouble with Zeerust's Europeans, most of whom ostracize him and his wife; only some four families out of the small Anglican congregation in the town continue to attend his services.

The Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. R. Ambrose Reeves, said that

¹DIGEST V, 1-4.

he intended to hold full discussions with Father Hooper: "Until we have reviewed the whole situation I cannot say what the Church is going to do or whether there will be any question of sending another priest to Zeerust. I must strongly refute any suggestion that Mr. Hooper is an agitator who has been meddling in politics. He has simply been doing his duty as a priest, and that is all. The tribesmen have been coming to him for help which was badly needed and he has simply responded. It is the kind of thing any Christian would do." (*Pretoria News*, March 10, 1958.)

The *Sunday Express* (March 9, 1958) wrote: "Twelve elderly Native women—one of them is over 90 and three are over 80—have been saved by a syndicate of Johannesburg doctors and professional men from having to spend several months in jail. But another twelve women, most of whom are over 60, may still have to go to prison. The twenty-four women were convicted at Lichtenburg last September for burning their pass books. They were fined £100 each, with the alternative of a year's imprisonment. They could not pay their fines, and went to jail. Then relatives managed to collect about £400 towards their fines, and just before Christmas they were released, after spending seventy days in prison, on condition that the balance of their fines was paid at the rate of £5 a month each. . . . Now twelve people in all have come forward with offers (to pay monthly instalments of £5)." A Johannesburg attorney who is collecting the money said that it would be used to pay the fines of "the most deserving cases".

The Government has taken powers to prevent any African from entering a reserve in which he is not resident without a permit, and to stop any resident from leaving without a permit. The new regulations can be applied to any reserve at any time; so far, they have been applied to the Marico District (which includes the Zeerust locations) and the Letaba District (which includes the Mamathola location and Metz). These measures are designed to counter "organized and deliberate campaigns by certain organizations, and agitation by individuals to subvert, resist, or interfere with the authority of the State and of the chiefs and headmen" in the reserves. Heavy penalties are provided. A fine of up to £300 or three years' imprisonment, or both, may be imposed on any African from "outside" who enters without a permit; similar penalties are provided for anyone who makes "threatening or subversive statements against the authorities in a reserve". (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 1 and 8, 1958.)

Fines totalling more than £4,000 in cash or in cattle have been imposed by African chiefs on their people in the Zeerust area; they have been levied mainly for offences connected with disturbances in the reserves and on the Native Trust Farms. Several women, already punished by courts of law for burning their reference books, have been fined by the tribal courts for the same offence. (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 11, 1958.)

Twenty-one Africans, who have been appearing in the Zeerust Magistrate's Court at an inquiry, were committed for trial on charges of public violence arising from disturbances at Mochedi, a village reserve about 40 miles from Zeerust, on December 26. All pleaded not guilty and reserved their defence; they refused to accept short service and elected trial by a judge without a jury. Bail of £50 was allowed for the adults and £10 for the youths.

A *Rand Daily Mail* reporter, George Danzil Oliver, 27, who said that he had entered the reserve (where some of the Court's sittings had been held) without a permit, to report the case, was fined £5 or fourteen days. The Native Commissioner at Zeerust said that he had refused Mr. Oliver a permit. (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 18, 1958.)

The *Star* (February 18, 1958) wrote: "It is a principle of our legal system that justice shall be done in public, and that the Press, which represents the public, shall be admitted to the courts. There are exceptions to this rule (many of them objectionable), but they did not apply in the case under consideration. The Native Commissioner's refusal of a permit . . . if it had not been disregarded, would have had the effect of excluding the Press from the hearing. This is surely an incorrect use of the Native Commissioner's powers. The power to exclude persons from a court of law resides with the presiding officer alone and is strictly controlled. It would be a highly undesirable state of affairs if justice could retire at will to prohibited territory and so escape public surveillance. We believe the Commissioner erred in refusing the permit, but it is not right that in a matter of such fundamental importance he should be in a position to usurp the function of the court."

University Apartheid¹

The *Manchester Guardian* (February 5, 1958) wrote: "In face of the South African Government's policy of university *apartheid*, there have been various proposals for helping Bantu students from the Union to enjoy the benefits of unsegregated education none the less. . . . Perhaps the most far-reaching of all comes from the Committee on Science and Freedom, which organized a meeting on university *apartheid* in London last November. It is appealing for a sum of money—£4,000 is mentioned as a target—to be spent in assisting Bantu students to attend the 'open' universities in South Africa so long as these remain open to them—that is, until the proposed non-European colleges are ready. If and when the Separate University Education Bill becomes effective, the funds would be used to help such students to attend universities outside South Africa. The work will be in the hands of the World University Service, an international organization long engaged in work in aid of students. It is reckoned that this sum would see ten students through a four-year course. Such a project would be a deserving one at any time. Today, when the lights of liberal education in the Union are in danger of being blown out, it has all the more significance. The Committee on Science and Freedom has some four thousand people on its mailing list, and looks to them as contributors in the first place. But the more people join with them the better."

The Committee on Science and Freedom stated that in making the appeal it had the full support of its own sponsoring organization, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which had made an immediate grant of £600 to the non-European Students' Fund in Cape Town. The appeal was also being supported by the Africa Bureau and the Liberal International.

Contributions should be sent to: The Secretary, World University Service, 59 Gloucester Place, London, W.1, or to any other National Committee of the World University Service. Cheques should be made out to "The World University Service".

Professor I. Gordon, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Natal, said he intended to call a full meeting of the faculty as soon as possible to reaffirm the faculty's resolution to fight to the utmost the Government's intention to take over the Durban Medical School. Professor Gordon's announcement followed a statement made in the House of Assembly by the acting Minister of Education, Senator de Klerk, that a committee would soon be appointed to investigate administrative problems arising from the proposed transfer of the medical school. After this committee had submitted its report the Government would decide to which State department the medical school should be given.

Professor Gordon said: "As resolved as the Government may be to convert our medical school into a Government institution, so determined are we to remain in the University of Natal. In the space of a few years the Durban Medical School has made great contributions in the fields of medical education, medical research and medical services to the non-White peoples. It is an institution worth fighting for, and if the Government wishes to rob the University of Natal of its school, then it must carry out this assault without any assistance from us. We hope that University teachers, the medical profession and the general public in all parts of the country will continue to help us to resist the Government plan, and will support us in the bitter struggle which must now inevitably ensue." (*Pretoria News*, February 6, 1958.)

Dr. Gordon told the South African Medical and Dental Council that the Administrator of Natal had told the Government that Natal Province would not collaborate with any authority except Natal University in running the medical school. He also said that ninety-one of the ninety-two members of the teaching staff of the school had adopted a resolution saying that they could not continue teaching there if the school were separated from Natal University. He wanted the medical council to reverse its former decision not to give evidence before the commission investigating the Separate University Education Bill. After a prolonged discussion the council decided first to send a deputation to see the Ministers of Health and Education and then to consider the matter. (*The Times*, March 12, 1958.)

Professor P. J. Duminy was installed as Principal of the University of Cape Town by the Chancellor, Mr. A. van de Sandt Centlivres on March 5,

¹DIGEST V, 1-4.

and in his address declared his belief that the best policy was one wherein different races, while living apart, worked and planned together for the common goal of a contended and prosperous South Africa. This might even involve the provision of universities for different races, but it was important to retain the means of co-operation and understanding which a common university could provide; and his own personal view was that the University of Cape Town should remain "open". It seemed to him that it was the duty of the university "to welcome to this fountainhead all those who can with profit come and drink at it". (*The Times*, March 5, 1958.)

Other Forms of Apartheid

Professional

New Age (January 23, 1958) wrote: "There is unrest and tension in every non-European hospital in the Union. African nurses, both trained and probationers, are up in arms against the attempt of the South African Nursing Council to force them to carry passes. Directives have been sent by the Council to all hospitals calling upon the matrons not to register student nurses until they have undergone race classification and have obtained their identity numbers under the Population Registration Act of 1950. According to an official of the Council, race classification is necessary to 'enable the Council to keep separate registers for African, Coloured and European nurses in terms of the Nursing Amendment Act'.¹ Matrons of various hospitals who have tried to implement the directive have met with stubborn resistance. The majority of nurses in hospitals in the main centres have refused to take out reference books. . . . Over 300 staff nurses from all hospitals on the Reef attended a meeting called by the Rand Nurses' Professional Club in Johannesburg. Every speaker condemned the pass laws. . . . The meeting resolved to send a deputation to the Nursing Council to protest against the attempt to force nurses to carry passes."

Golden City Post (January 26, 1958) reported that lawyers had told nurses of the King Edward VIII Hospital, Durban, that the Nursing Act did not require nurses registering with the Council to furnish information such as their identity numbers and race classification under the Population Registration Act. They said the hospital authorities were not entitled to insist on this information being provided, and nurses were within their rights in refusing it. The legal opinion has been relayed to other hospitals.

The Department of Justice has addressed a letter to magistrates requesting that consideration be given to making "equal but separate" seating facilities available in court for non-European lawyers.² The Department makes it clear that the presiding judicial officer in the court has, by law, the right to make whatever arrangements he thinks fit. (*The Star*, February 6, 1958.)

A Native lawyer, Mr. C. M. Kobus, of Cape Town, has been ordered under the Urban Areas Act to leave the locale of his practice and move to the location of Langa. He was admitted to the Cape Sidebar in February 1954 and has practised in Cape Town since. There is no provision in the Act for compensation, although this move, he says, will destroy his practice. The Law Society of the Cape, as well as Mr. Kobus, has appealed to the Native Affairs Department, but so far Mr. Kobus's appeal has not been acknowledged. The Law Society's letter said: "Mr. Kobus, as far as this society is aware, had conducted his practice in accordance with the ethics of the profession in every respect, and in view of the undoubted hardship which will result if he is forced to leave his present address and move to Langa, my council has no hesitation in strongly supporting his application and hopes that it will receive sympathetic and favourable consideration." It was signed by the secretary of the Law Society. (*Sunday Times*, January 26, 1958.)

Mr. Andrew Lukele, of Alexandra Township, Johannesburg, was admitted to the Supreme Court as an attorney by Mr. Justice Ludorf in Pretoria. He is the fifth African who has been admitted to practise as an attorney in the Transvaal. Mr. Lukele was awarded the Law Society prize last year. He was born in Alexandra Township and attended the Bantu High School at Western Native Township up to his Junior Certificate, and matriculated at the Inkamana High School, Vryheid. He went to Witwatersrand University to take his B.A. degree and while doing his studies worked in a bookshop to help his parents to find enough money to pay his

¹DIGEST IV, 5 and 6; V, 1-4.

²DIGEST V, 3-4.

fees. He sat for his attorney's admission examinations privately. (*Pretoria News*, January 24, 1958.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* (February 6, 1958) wrote: "An experiment that may have far-reaching results is to be carried out by the Anglo-American Corporation at the South African Lands and Exploration Company (Sallies) at Brakpan. For the first time in the history of mining in this country, fully trained African welfare officers have been appointed and will take the place of Europeans now doing this work. According to Mr. Frank Lyle, the compound manager at 'Sallies', these welfare officers, who have undergone a course of intensive training in welfare work, will be responsible for organizing the sporting and recreational activities of over 5,000 Africans employed on the mine. One officer is to be appointed to the Sallies mine hospital at Witthok, where he will be employed entirely among Africans who have been injured in accidents on the mine."

Pretoria News (February 8, 1958) said that the Africans would "supplement White welfare officers, but not replace them".

Social and Cultural¹

The Minister of the Interior, Dr. Dönges, said that he was disappointed at the way in which race classification was used for propaganda purposes and for stirring up the emotions about a thorny but very essential task. It had always been the case, even before the Nationalist Party came to power, that people in South Africa had been in distressing circumstances because of uncertainty about their race. For years the question of race had arisen in cases such as admission to schools and the placing of names on voters' lists. Similar difficulties had arisen after the passing of the Mixed Marriages Act. Birth and marriage certificates were usually the available proofs of what a person's race was. When doubts arose, the matter must be settled by further investigation because those certificates were, according to law, no final proof. Once a classification was made, the matter was finally settled and nobody need go to court again to defend his rights. In the past it had happened that people had to do this three or four times in a lifetime. The intention was to make the classification according to the Population Registration Act valid for all other Acts. The officials to whom this task was entrusted had been instructed to act with the utmost humanity, and this was being done. If, in spite of these instructions, there was still dissatisfaction there was recourse to a board of appeal and to the courts of law. The officials responsible for race classification knew their job, and had experience of the difficulties that arose. The whole approach by the critics of race classification was wrong. What was inhuman was to waylay those who had been examined in privacy and with sympathy and to use their cases for propaganda reasons. (*Pretoria News*, February 21, 1958.)

The Minister of Justice, Mr. Swart, said that a full investigation was being made into the possibility of making joint trials compulsory for offences under the Immorality Act, which forbids cohabitation between members of different races. He had been asked by Dr. Smit (U.P., East London City) what he thought about the remarks of the Judge-President of the Transvaal on December 12 to the effect that both accused implicated in the same act of immorality ought to be tried together and whether he could not instruct the courts to give the same sentences to people implicated in the same offence. Mr. Swart said this would be interfering with the discretion of the Bench. Asked how many differing sentences had been imposed, the Minister said: "One in 1955, four in 1956 and five in 1957." This was a fraction of the total and he hoped that an amendment to the Immorality Act passed last year—the effect of which it was not yet possible to assess—would eliminate even that small percentage of differing sentences. (*Star*, January 28, 1958.)

Mr. Swart ordered that a White man and a non-European woman, jailed under the Immorality Act after living together for fourteen years and having two children, should be released. The couple, Ernest Bethwaite and Laura Wagner, were sentenced to six months' jail in December under the Act, but part of their sentence was suspended when they admitted contravening the law. Bethwaite had said that although he was White he knew of no other life than that of a Coloured person. (*The Times*, February 7, 1958.)

Gideon Andrew Keyser, private secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, was sentenced in Pretoria magistrate's court for contravention

¹DIGEST V, 4.

of the Act. He was charged with enticing a coloured woman to commit an immoral or indecent act. He pleaded guilty, but gave notice of appeal after the magistrate sentenced him to four months' imprisonment and four strokes with the cane. He was granted £50 bail pending an appeal to the Supreme Court. Keyser's attorney said the appeal would be based on two grounds: that the Crown had not proved by corroboratory evidence that a crime had been committed; and that the sentence was too severe. (*South Africa*, February 8, 1958.)

South Africa (March 8, 1958) wrote: "The more earnest exponents of apartheid have for so long been calling it a matter of life and death that not many South Africans should be surprised at its extension a few days ago to the sphere of funerals. In Cape Town at least the Road Transportation Board is insisting that before permits are granted for undertakers' cars to carry mourners to the graveside and back home again certain cars have to be set aside for Europeans only and others for non-Europeans. Like many other petty applications of apartheid—the only type of application that ever seems to take effect—this is likely to increase costs, for when funerals are not sufficiently mixed in relation to the undertaker's fleet of cars, then some must be left behind as idle and wasted assets, for lack of mourners of the appropriate colour to ride in them."

Nationalist Town Councillors at Springs opposed the use of Pam Brink Stadium—home of Eastern Transvaal Rugby—for a concert by non-European artists before a European audience and in aid of a European charitable fund. Seven councillors voted in favour of the concert and five against. The decision was made subject to police approval. A Nationalist Councillor, Mr. A. J. Kruger, said he would start a petition against the concert. (*Star*, January 28, 1958.)

Leon Gluckman, the South African actor-producer, said that there was a great future for theatre in South Africa if the State and the public gave it better support; if dedicated young people, with the right attitude, entered the profession, and if the vast, untapped non-European audience was reached. (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 27, 1958.)

Other leading theatre producers in Johannesburg who expressed similar views when they were interviewed after the successful showing of *The Pajama Game* to non-Europeans¹ were Margaret Inglis, Taubie Kushlick and Cecil Williams.

The S.A. Theatre Managements Association has decided that as many plays as possible must be taken to the non-Europeans. Robert Langford, an executive of the Association, said that the aim would be to take about ten shows a year—to the townships if necessary. The municipality and other local bodies would be asked to co-operate, as one-night stands for non-European audiences were often uneconomical and the services of various interested bodies would be needed so that plays could be staged for non-Europeans without the additional costs involved falling too heavily on individual managements. (*Star*, January 18, 1958.)

The South African Defence Force has banned multi-racial regattas in Simonstown Harbour. When the naval base was controlled by the Royal Navy there were annual regattas in which dockyard staff competed against the Navy with crews of mixed race. At a meeting of the regatta committee it was reported that the South African authorities would deny the use of the harbour facilities for the regatta unless separate regattas were held for White and non-White. The committee rejected the suggestion of separate regattas, and will meet again to decide what to do. (*The Times*, February 22, 1958.)

The Northern Transvaal Amateur Athletic Union has decided to refuse admission for non-Whites to athletics meetings at the new stadium in Pretoria. (*The Times*, February 1, 1958.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* (March 10, 1958) wrote: "A meeting to protest against the colour bar in sport in South Africa is to be held in Cardiff during the Empire Games there in July; organized by the South Wales Council of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, backed by local Labour Party branches. M.P.s, including Mr. James Callaghan, Labour's 'shadow Colonial Secretary', and leading sportsmen, have been invited to attend. The M.C.F. has already protested to the Empire Games Committee and the Empire Athletic Federation about the 'Whites-only' South African

¹DIGEST V, 3-4.

teams policy. Here are the views of some notable athletes and officials:

"Derek Ibbotson, the famous miler: 'It is unfair to bar Coloured competitors. Teams should be picked on merit. The Americans would be in pretty poor shape without their Coloured members.'

"Jack Crump, secretary of the British Amateur Athletic Board: 'From every point of view—sporting and religious—the colour bar is unjust and indefensible.'

"Geoff Dyson, national coach of the A.A.A.: 'I like to think of sport as truly international and to admire a performance on its merits, whether it is by a Briton, American, Russian or Negro.'

"Among the 15,000 competitors from nearly forty nations who will take part in the Empire Games are Indians, Malaysians and West Africans."

Group Areas¹

A resolution passed by 120 delegates who attended the Group Areas Conference in Cape Town stated: "We affirm our belief that racial grouping is contrary to the concept of human dignity and freedom, and is in itself the cause of increased friction among the people of this country. The Act is oppressive in spirit and practice, causing untold hardship to many people, and it must be rejected *in toto*."

A second resolution said: "This conference is perturbed at the harmful effects of the Group Areas Act on education and, in particular, on the education of the non-European child. It views with concern the fact that many Coloured schools and educational institutions are affected in the Cape Peninsula, and it calls on the sponsors of the conference to make vigorous representations to the authorities on behalf of these schools and institutions." (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 4, 1958.)

The Times (February 28, 1958) wrote: "A growing body of influential public opinion against racial zoning proposals under the . . . Act is reflected in a petition presented to Durban City Council. Based on the population of 1951 (which has since increased by nearly 200,000 to a total of approximately 634,000), the city council's proposals for racial regrouping involve the displacement of approximately 3,000 Europeans, 6,000 Coloured persons, 63,000 Indians, and 83,000 Africans. Disparity in racial numbers will be greatly increased, as a result of the big population increase, if the proposals are carried out. The signatories of the petition, who include the Anglican Archdeacon of Durban, the Roman Catholic Metropolitan, the local Member of Parliament, and prominent citizens, consider that many of the group areas proposals are 'neither reasonable nor equitable, in that almost the entire burden of sacrifice falls on the non-White population'. The petition urges the amendment of the original zoning proposals, so as to give indisputable proof of a desire to right past wrongs, to afford justice to all, and to discharge the public authorities' obligations to all sections of the community."

Pretoria News (February 21, 1958) wrote: "With the aid of public revenue and the right to expropriate land through the Group Areas Development Board and the Natives' Resettlement Board, the Government are at present running what is probably the biggest 'estate agency' in the history of South Africa. In the Lenasia area the Group Areas Development Board has bought an estimated 750 morgen of farmland, mostly by expropriation, for the settlement of Indians. This is apart from an already existing township about which a court case is now in progress. Some of the farmland was expropriated at about £100 a morgen and it will eventually be sold at something in the region of £300 for an eighth of an acre. On this 'deal' alone the . . . Board stands to make a profit of well over £2,000,000. The Natives' Resettlement Board has been buying properties in Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare and razing the existing buildings. According to the latest report of the Board an amount of £260,000 has been spent on the purchase of properties for 're-zoning'. Being close to the centre of Johannesburg, the properties in the 'black spots' will, as White areas, fetch considerably more than the Board is collecting from rent on buildings that have been bought but have not yet been demolished. In terms of the Act the Johannesburg Municipality will eventually foot the bill for the Western Areas removal scheme.² The question is whether Johannesburg will also share the profits. Meadowlands, where the Natives from the Western Areas are being moved, is run on an 'economic rental' basis which, in theory, means that there will be no losses."

Pretoria News (March 5, 1958) wrote: "After waiting patiently for

¹DIGEST V, 2-4. ²DIGEST I, 14; II, 1-3, 5, 7-8.

almost two years for the Minister of Interior, Dr. Dönges, to proclaim its group areas, Pretoria will now almost certainly have to wait until after the general election for the green light to sort out its residential areas. It is felt that Pretoria, whose non-political city council has so far done everything possible to co-operate with the Government on its colour policy, must suffer the consequences of the delay because the Minister dare not, for political reasons, proclaim the group areas. The placing of the Indian community of the city is a factor which can bring the Government into disfavour with many of its supporters. From the evidence brought before the Group Areas Board in June 1956 it is evident that nowhere in Pretoria would the Indians be welcome. Whatever area the Minister puts aside for the Indians is apt to cause much discontent among Government supporters which could lead to the loss of valuable votes."

Resettlement Scheme

The House of Assembly approved an Order issued by the Governor-General last year for the Mamathola tribe³ to move from the Wolkberg to the farm Metz, recently acquired by the Native Trust (a recommendation that the Order be approved was made earlier in the session by the Assembly's Select Committee on Native Affairs). The United Party and other Opposition groups in the House opposed the motion on the ground that representatives of the tribe had not given evidence; they said these representatives had actually been in Cape Town at the time the committee held its deliberations and that one of the members of the committee had asked that they be heard, but this was refused.

The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, said the members of the tribe who had come to Cape Town could certainly not be described as representative. Earlier, during the debate in the Senate, Dr. Verwoerd said that members of the tribe had never approached him with a request to appear before the Senate's Sessional Committee. Sen. L. I. Rubin (Native Rep.) said this was untrue as both he and Sen. W. G. Ballinger (Native Rep.) had approached him on behalf of the tribe. Dr. Verwoerd replied that the Natives' Representatives did not count. He did not talk to them. The Natives themselves must approach him and they had not done so. (*Star*, February 2, and *Pretoria News*, February 13, 1958.)

Mr. H. M. Basner, former Natives' Senator and the tribe's legal adviser, wrote (*Star*, February 13, 1958) ". . . The Government's major premise has always been that the Mamathola tribe damages the water sources in the Letaba area, and that its cattle, and its ploughing, damage the soil in the location which they occupy. The Mamathola representatives offered to bring evidence to the select and sessional committees of Parliament that there is no substance to these allegations: that there are no sources, springs or sponges of any rivers inside their location, and that the sources which the officials always mention are in the Wolkberg Forest Reserve, a neighbouring farm owned by the Government and not accessible to the Mamathola tribesmen, that the Mamathola people have become fruit farmers and can now afford, and are prepared, not to keep any cattle and not to plough for any other crops, in the same way as the fruit farmers of Tzaneen, Nelspruit and White River; that the Mamathola location can bring the tribe great prosperity; that Metz is already full of squatters and unsuitable for the Mamathola tribe. The select and sessional committees not only refused to hear this evidence but refused to allow the Native Affairs Department's officials to be questioned regarding the locality of the water sources and regarding the number of citrus and other fruit trees already planted by the tribe. . . . It would be well for the honour of South Africa if stronger voices than those of the Native Representatives in Parliament and mine were raised against this outrage. The sin against Naboth was not expiated lightly."

Labour and Industry

By a majority of 167 votes to 119, members of the predominantly Coloured Western Province Building, Electrical and Allied Trades Union voted in favour of splitting into separate White and non-White trade unions. This vote reversed that obtained at a ballot in November, when there was a majority in favour of remaining a racially mixed union. (*Pretoria News*, January 31, 1958.)

The Operative Bakers, Confectioners and Conductors Union, which has 404 Coloured members and forty-six European members, has been granted

³DIGEST V, 1-4.

an unusual exemption for a racially mixed trade union in that the Minister of Labour is allowing it to continue with a mixed executive committee. (One of the *apartheid* provisions stipulates that the executive committee of a mixed union must be exclusively European.) This Union's executive now consists of ten Coloured men and two Europeans. (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 5, 1958.)

Many parts of the Transvaal industrial area are faced by a shortage of African labour that is described as one of the most desperate in history. Industries and municipalities are the hardest hit. The shortage is so acute in Springs that an invitation has been sent to Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, to visit the town to discuss the problem with the Council. The cause of the shortage is attributed by industrialists to the Government's influx control regulations and the policy of the labour bureau of putting a too-rigid control on potential workers.

Commerce, in general, is not affected by the shortage. But a big problem is the tremendous turnover of African employees. Many leave to tackle new jobs as soon as they are trained. It has been estimated that every twenty-one months the Johannesburg City Council's entire African staff is replaced. This situation is said to be common in commerce and industry, too. (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 28, 1958.)

The *Sunday Times* (March 2, 1958) wrote: "The establishment of garment factories on the edges of Natal Native reserves is threatening the entire industry, and the livelihood of thousands of White workers, whose jobs are now being done by Natives. This trend, in accord with the theory of *apartheid*, makes nonsense of the declared intentions of 'job reservation'—to protect the interest of White workers—because the Natives are paid about a fifth of the wages of White workers for similar work. In some factories, the starting basic salary of a Native is said to be 4s. 3d. a week. A garment factory in the area is to teach 300 women to operate electrical sewing machines. . . . and, when work starts, the factory will produce 2,500 garments a day. The women are to be paid £1 5s. a week, as well as food, and an incentive bonus. But the factory, which has moved to this rural area from Johannesburg has aroused opposition from both employers and employees in the clothing industry elsewhere. Wages in this industry are controlled in the Transvaal by an Industrial Council, but in Natal only a few urban areas are covered by Industrial Council wage rulings. This means employers can employ Black labour in parts of Natal at whatever prices suit them—and Native workers have no power to strike or organize into registered trade unions. . . .

"The main exodus from the urban areas started with the publication of the Tomlinson Report, which recommended the establishment of the textile industry near Native reserves. (Factories have since been opened at Charlestown, Ladysmith, Parys, Villiers, Dannhauser and Glencoe.) Although the Government were embarrassed by the report they made it clear that they approved this aspect (to many of these factories have gone huge contracts for manufacturing police blazers, Afrikaans-medium school blazers and jukskei club blazers).

"In some factories dismissals for trivial offences are frequent, but often dismissed workers are re-engaged at starting wages. Reports have been received by the Garment Workers' Union in Johannesburg that some of the factories use corporal punishment for trivial misdemeanours, such as late arrival."

The *Times* (March 8, 1958) reported: "A proposal to move Durban's African dockworkers from compounds in the city to a new African location which is now under construction nine miles to the north is threatening a serious dislocation of harbour work. It is the latest example of disruption caused by the Government's insistence on *apartheid* for urban African workers. Stevedoring interests are strongly opposing this move. They contend that African labour will be seriously reduced if workers are housed away from the city. The present compounds are within a stone's throw of the docks area.

"The transfer of these workers is included in a £10 million scheme to rehouse about 125,000 Africans, most of whom now live in conditions of utter squalor. Dr. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, overruled a local authority on choice of the new site, and insisted on a location which lies from nine to seventeen miles from the city's main industrial areas. The first

¹DIGEST V, 3 and 4.

of the new homes are almost complete, but local authority and industrial employers are faced with the problem of transport when the major transfer takes place. It is estimated that the available transport facilities will be able to cope with only a fraction of the workers now employed."

Bantu Education

An African schoolteacher, Esdras Kobeli, 60, of Edenvale, was fined £75, or seven months' imprisonment, in the Germiston Magistrates' Court for conducting a school illegally. The magistrate, Mr. S. M. Rossouw, said: "I know you are doing a service by keeping children off the streets, but you can't conduct a school if you have not got it registered." Kobeli, who has been running a school since 1949, has been teaching up to as many as 600 pupils. At the time of his appearing in court he was teaching about 300 children. This was his third conviction for the same offence. Mr. Rossouw said that these children could go to the several Government, or registered schools, in the Edenvale location, which were not full, as far as he knew. (*Rand Daily Mail*, January 29, 1958.)

The seven night schools for non-Europeans in the European areas of the Cape Peninsula have been suspended by order of the Native Affairs Department. Temporary permission to keep them open had been given in writing by the Cape Regional Director of Bantu Education, but this had been countermanded by a letter from Pretoria. More than 500 adult Africans had been attending the schools, which were staffed by 190 volunteer teachers. The Cape non-European Night Schools' Association, which runs the schools, has lost its Government grant, amounting to £787 a quarter. There is little prospect that the schools will be reopened this term.

Four other night schools, in Native areas, have been taken out of the hands of the Association under regulations issued by the Native Affairs Department last September. (*Sunday Times*, March 9, 1958.)

The Bantu Education Act is being applied in a manner prejudicial to the progress of the African people in the Union, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations. The criticism refers in particular to the system of teaching the two official languages, English and Afrikaans, as well as the mother tongue in the Bantu schools. The Institute advocated that only the official language most commonly used in the area of the school should be taught in the lower primary standards and that it should be used as the medium of instruction in the upper classes: unless that were done African secondary and higher education would suffer seriously. Under the Bantu Education Act attempts were being made to enforce rigidly the provision that African children should be taught through their mother tongue. Because of the multiplicity of Bantu languages teachers were finding great difficulty in complying with the law, as it would mean splitting up the pupils into ethnic groups corresponding with their mother tongue. In the past, English had been the lingua franca in the classrooms, today this was not allowed except in special circumstances. Express permission from the authorities was also needed to allow children to be instructed in a Bantu language other than their mother tongue. (*The Times Educational Supplement*, January 31, 1958.)

Indian Education

More than 9,000 Indian children were unable to gain admittance to Indian schools in Natal at the beginning of the 1958 school year because of the shortage of teachers and classrooms; last year almost the same number had to be turned away. (*Pretoria News*, March 7, 1958.)

Single-Medium Schools Favoured

Parents of pupils at the Vanderbijl School, Vereeniging,¹ and one member of the school committee, who petitioned the Supreme Court to set aside the decision of the Administrator of Transvaal to convert the school from a parallel-medium to Afrikaans-medium institution lost their case when the judge found that the Administrator had not acted *mala fide*. The judge said that the Administrator had been given virtually absolute discretion by the amended education ordinances. (*The Times*, February 28, 1958.)

South Africa (March 8, 1958) wrote: "The long controversy over the . . . school—in reality a controversy over the principle of bilingual

¹DIGEST IV, 4, and V, 2.

education in the Transvaal—has ended in defeat for the parents and the school committee, and victory for the Provincial Administration. But that victory has been achieved only by employing the Nationalist majority in the Provincial Council to amend the law in such a way as to ensure that the parents and the school committee could not win. . . . [As a result of the recent judgement] the parents have been deprived of a dual-medium school where their English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking children could mix freely. Instead the children will be segregated in single-medium schools . . . where . . . they will have infinitely less opportunity for learning to understand one another. And the only reason for this is the Nationalists' ideological zest for building more and more racial kraals—even to the extending of *apartheid* to the two White groups."

Dr. Wassenaar Rejoins Nationalists

Dr. Theo Wassenaar,¹ former leader of the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal Provincial Council, announced that he had rejoined the party, from which he was expelled last year. Dr. Wassenaar's expulsion followed a dispute over the election of school-board officials in Transvaal. He then founded the National Democratic Party to fight in this year's general election, but resigned its leadership "for health reasons" last December. (*The Times*, March 11, 1958.)

New Scheme for Alexandra

The township of Alexandra, a huge, sprawling area outside Johannesburg with a population estimated at about 100,000 non-Europeans, is to be taken under the control of a proper local authority. The Administrator of the Transvaal issued proclamations placing it under the peri-urban areas health board. For several decades this township, which has grown up in haphazard fashion, has been regarded as a menace to the health and security of Johannesburg; although it contained large numbers of decent law-abiding Africans, Coloured, and Indian people, it also gave opportunities to the criminal element to hide and operate from there as well as terrorize the other inhabitants. The sum of £575,000 has now been guaranteed for improvements; sanitary services will be provided, roads built, water installed, and street lighting established. The Government will assist by granting loans for capital schemes and by making up losses in administering the townships and providing essential services. The Government has also amended the law so that levy funds may be obtained from employers (most of the people in the township work in Johannesburg) as a contribution towards capital schemes for the township. The taking over of Alexandra by the Transvaal provincial administration with backing by the Government is regarded as one of the most important steps yet taken to give the non-European population a higher standard of living. (*The Times*, February 4, 1958.)

Religious Conformity

Three Coloured churchwardens of the Protestant Calvinist Church, Joseph Fortuin, Izak van den Heever and Frederick Engelbrecht, were found guilty in the Magistrate's Court at Springbok of contravening Government Notice 1634 of October 25, 1857, under which the Government banned the Church in Namaqualand. They were each fined £5 (or twenty days) suspended for three years on condition they do not hold any further meetings conflicting with the regulation without first obtaining permission. Crown witnesses said that the meetings conducted by the accused, and attended by about fifty people, had been exclusively religious.

Frederick Engelbrecht said in mitigation that since the *apartheid* laws had been passed, some feeling of brotherhood had developed among the Coloureds; in an attempt to obey those laws they "felt strongly that they should have their own church and elect their own ministers to serve their own people". In all good faith he had continued to canvass his people in the Calvinist-Protestant faith long before the new regulation was promulgated: he could not understand that his freedom of worship as well as his willingness to enlighten his people could be taken away from him, and he be made guilty of an offence.

Summing up, the magistrate, Mr. J. C. Cooper, said: "Freedom does not mean that you can do what you like. You are at all times subordinate to some authority. I sympathize with all the accused, and their wish to pay

¹DIGEST IV, 5 and 6.

homage to God in their own ways. But on the other hand, the law should be obeyed. All of you have addressed meetings, even if religious, which conflict with the regulations. Only one Church is recognized in the Reserves by the Coloured Affairs Department, and that is the Dutch Reformed Church." (*Pretoria News*, March 8, 1958.)

Pretoria News (March 10, 1958) wrote: "Here for all to see is a glaring, fantastic and utterly shocking example of gross interference with religious freedom. Moreover, it is a happening which will not only be regarded with a sense of shame by all responsible South Africans but one which will also do untold damage to our nation's prestige and reputation throughout the countries of the free world where, inevitably, it will be linked with the notorious 'Church Clause'¹ that has already done so much to bring the Union into disrepute."

Bantu Presbyterian Church

South Africa (January 25, 1958) wrote: "South Africa was recently visited by the Rev. Dr. J. W. C. Dougall, the general secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland. This Church has in recent years been pursuing a policy of integration, by which its work, built up over more than 100 years, is being put under the jurisdiction of the indigenous churches which Scotland has called into being in various lands. South Africa is the last of its fields, in Africa and beyond, to accept in its fullness the integration policy. As a result of Dr. Dougall's visit, the missionaries of the Church of Scotland working in the Union will forthwith come into line with those in Central, West and East Africa as well as those in India and the West Indies. Until now ordained missionaries sent from Scotland to South Africa have remained ministers of the Church of Scotland, with all the privileges, including seats in the General Assembly in Edinburgh, that this involved. If a *fama* was brought against them—a most rare occurrence—they were tried by a court of the Scottish Church. Henceforth they will cease to be ministers of the Church of Scotland, with, however, the power to resume that status on retirement, and will in regard to discipline come directly under the jurisdiction of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa, a body in which Africans outnumber Europeans in the proportion of twelve to one. For missionaries now at work in the Union the new system will be permissive, but they will require to choose between membership of the mother or the daughter church. New missionaries will be required to have only one loyalty, viz. to the Bantu Church. They will be trained and licensed in Scotland, but their ordination will take place at the hands of a predominantly African body in South Africa. It is a change of the most radical kind, a parallel in the ecclesiastical sphere to what has taken place politically in Ghana. It foreshadows also the gradual handing over of mission stations and institutions, and, indeed, all forms of work to the control of African ministers and their congregations. The Church of Scotland has emphasized that the policy does not spell withdrawal on its part: it will still send out men and women as missionaries and be responsible for their salaries, but only as these are asked for by the indigenous Church."

Population Figures

According to the Bureau of Census and Statistics, South Africa's present population is 14,418,000 and for the first time the white population has exceeded the three-million mark. These figures are included in the population estimate which the Bureau makes each year. The last census was taken in 1951 and since that year the increases for the various groups are given in the estimate as follows: Bantu by 1,000,000 to 9,600,000; Whites by 370,000 to 3,011,000; Coloureds by 257,000 to 1,360,000; and Asiatics by 75,200 to 441,000. Johannesburg's population is now estimated at 1,052,600; Cape Town's at 729,000; Durban's at 634,400; and Pretoria's at 343,300. (*South Africa*, March 8, 1958.)

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

Good Offices Committee²

THE United Nations Special Committee on South-West Africa decided to defer action for the time being so as not to interfere with the work of the

¹DIGEST IV, 5 and 6; V, 1-4. ²DIGEST V, 4.

"Good Offices Committee" set up by the General Assembly. The Committee Chairman of the Special Committee, Professor Enrique Rodrigues Fabregat, said the Good Offices Committee had been asked to report back to the next Assembly session and would soon begin work.

The Special Committee will meet at the end of June when a list of petitions from the Territory can be considered. These include petitions from the Reverend Michael Scott. Professor Fabregat said the Committee was always prepared to consider petitions from Scott. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, January 10, 1958.)

Reviewing the history of the dispute over South-West Africa in the *Isis* (January 29, 1958) Tony David Smith commented: "A British M.P. on hearing Michael Scott's first speech in U.N. called it the most terrible indictment ever delivered against a civilized government. However objective one tries to be, whatever restrictions of language one imposes upon oneself as being not an inhabitant of southern Africa, this description cannot be said to be far wrong. Whenever the problem of *apartheid* is discussed in U.N. South Africa withdraws in protest; on the last occasion before doing so, the representative called Krishna Menon a liar and accused the Asians of conducting a vendetta against him. That the representative is now beginning to develop paranoiac tendencies is hardly surprising. Yet no one can say that U.N. in its discussions of *apartheid* or in its discussion of simply the legal aspect of South Africa's hold on the S.W. territory, has been anything but conciliatory. The Good Offices Committee, if it is given every scrap of support by our Government (and first of all by the public of this country) may succeed in having the area transferred to the U.N. as a trustee. It may not achieve a result of anything like those proportions.

"If the new committee fails it is possible for a less conciliatory policy to be pursued. The matter could be forced before the International Court for final jurisdiction. But there is no guarantee that the Union government will abide by the decision of any authority below that of God (in His manifestation as a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church). But if our own Government (in whose name the original mandate was granted) gives all its attention to this matter, possibly by appointing its own arbitrator, there is a possibility that this stifled territory may be given air."

New Township Started

Work on Windhoek's new non-European township has started. Building teams from the Union have now arrived and are instructing Windhoek Native building teams. The first amount of money to be spent is in the vicinity of £1 million. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, January 24, 1958.)

Policemen to Carry Arms

In future all policemen in South-West Africa while on outside duty, such as "the beat", will be armed. According to a senior police officer in Windhoek this regulation will take effect in South-West immediately. Never before have policemen in the Territory carried firearms when on beat or doing outside duty, other than in the case where their safety might have been endangered. The senior police officer said that there was no particular reason why it had been decided to suddenly enforce the regulation. The regulation had existed for many years in the Union where policemen always carried firearms when doing outside duty. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, January 14, 1958.)

HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

Permits to Live in South Africa

ALL Natives from the High Commission Territories—Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland—will require permits to live in the Union after May 6, 1958, and those who are refused permits will have to return home or face prosecution.

An official of the South African Native Affairs Department said he did not think that permits would be refused to Natives who were "legally

employed". By this he meant Natives working for registered service contractors in the proclaimed areas. If a High Commission Native changed his employment his permit would lapse and he would come under the Labour Bureau regulations. It would then be for the Native Commissioner, working in consultation with the local authority, to decide whether to renew the permit and allow the Native to work in the area or to refuse it, thereby compelling the Native to return to his territory of origin. Each application would be dealt with on its merits.

Asked what would happen to Africans from the Territories who had bought houses and been living in the Union for some years, the official said that if they were refused permits they would have to leave. (*Pretoria News*, February 11, 1958.)

According to the last available figures, in 1946 there were 199,000 Africans from Basutoland, 34,000 from Swaziland, and 39,000 from Bechuanaland.

S.A. Nationalists Aim at Incorporation

Mr. F. Erasmus, South Africa's Minister of Defence, speaking in his constituency, said that although the sovereignty of Parliament had been established beyond doubt, the symbols of nationhood established, and South Africa had become largely independent of overseas capital, the end of the road of Nationalism had not yet been reached. He continued: "The road still leads to the acquisition of three British protectorates and to the achievement of the ideal of a republic." (*Pretoria News*, March 5, 1958.)

Bechuanaland

Bamangwato Minerals

CHIEF RASEBOLAI KGAMANE, accompanied by Seretse and Tshekedi Khama, arrived in London on February 7 to discuss the question of mineral deposits and mining concessions in the Bamangwato Tribal Reserve. On March 2, Chief Rasebolai issued a statement in which he said satisfactory negotiations had taken place with the Rhodesia Selection Trust in regard to the grant of a mineral prospecting concession. The delegation also had talks with the Commonwealth Relations Office.

Passes for Africans

Mr. J. Johnson (Labour) asked the Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations if he was aware that British African leaders from the Bechuanaland Protectorate must carry passes by order of the South African Government when going on official business to their own High Commissioner in Mafeking. He said that this practice had been in force since July 1957, and he asked that the matter should be taken up with the South African Government as soon as possible.

Mr. C. J. Alport replied: "Section 12 of the Union of South Africa Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidated Act, as amended in 1955, and in force from May 6, 1955, requires all Africans, other than those born in the Union or in South-West Africa, to obtain permission from the Union authorities before entering an urban area in the Union. The Native Commissioner, Mafeking, grants permits for visits to Mafeking by Chiefs and leading Africans from the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The Native Commissioner co-operates with the Resident Commissioner in doing this. The Procedure is well understood by the Chiefs and is working smoothly.

Occasions for official visits to Mafeking by Protectorate Africans are greatly reduced now that meetings of the African Advisory Council and Standing Committee are held in Lobatse." (*Hansard*, March 6, 1958.)

Africans Trek

The *Pretoria News* (March 7, 1958) reported that some hundreds of Africans had entered Bechuanaland from South Africa and were being allowed by the Bechuanaland Government to remain as political refugees. The refugees have been entering the British protectorate from the African reserve adjoining Bechuanaland in the Zeerust district, scene of anti-Pass Law rioting in the last few months. According to figures supplied by the Bechuanaland Government, in two villages alone, there are between 250

and 300 people living there who have fled from their homes in the reserve. This figure, however, represents only those who either reported their presence to the Bechuanaland police or who were traced. The correct number is believed to be much higher.

The Bechuanaland chiefs are known to be sympathetic to the refugees.

Refugees who have been traced by the Government are being housed in villages near Lobatsi and at Ramoutsa, about 30 miles north of Lobatsi. A Government spokesman said that the Government was not placing any obstacle in the way of Union Africans seeking asylum in the Protectorate. So far, their entry had not presented any problems to the authorities. Most of the refugees are women and children.

Altogether, about 3,000 to 4,000 have fled from the reserves in the last six months. Many have gone to Rand; others to the South-Western Transvaal and Northern Cape. The Union authorities have been aware of the exodus for some time. The official opinion seems to be that the refugees represent only the criminal element of the people—an opinion which is not correct as far as the Bechuanaland group is concerned.

Some of the women refugees admit that they have burnt their passes, but they have been punished in the courts for doing so. Some of those who have fled from the reserve in the last few weeks have carried marks of injuries administered by some members of chief's bodyguards.

Mr. C. W. Prinsloo, Chief Information Officer of the Union Department of Native Affairs, commenting on this report said the Africans, who might number about 250, were being given no encouragement to cross the border by the Protectorate Administration.

A Bechuanaland Government spokesman said in Mafeking that the Africans were being looked after by friends and they were being treated as any other African visitors whose passes were in order. He said they were not regarded as political refugees and the Government intended taking no action in the matter.

WEST AFRICA

Ghana

The Anniversary of Independence

The first anniversary of the attainment of independence was celebrated on March 6. A special edition of *Ghana Today* reviewed the achievements of the year. An article entitled "Working to Plan" described the projects under the two-year Consolidation Development Plan begun last year to round off the work undertaken under the First Development Plan on which £83,957,593 was spent. The Consolidation Plan is estimated to cost £18,615,501.

In a speech broadcast to the nation the Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah said: "Our first year of independence has been a most successful and also an eventful one. Our achievements during this period have proved beyond all doubt the justice of our claim to govern ourselves and to control our own affairs.

"Our first responsibility as I have understood it, was to consolidate the independence of Ghana and to safeguard our newly created state. In order to do this we had to govern firmly and will continue to do so within the framework of the laws of Ghana. We are determined to preserve the democratic and traditional way of life in Ghana, but will continue to deal firmly with the efforts of any unlawful elements or groups to undermine by unconstitutional means the Government or the established institutions of Ghana.

"I am convinced that we cannot build up this our new state successfully without showing personal and public discipline, and also demonstrating loyalty to the nation.

"It is a matter of which we can be justly proud that against the background of strife and turmoil which grips so much of this great continent the different races represented in Ghana have been able to work in harmony and understanding. This achievement reflects credit on everyone here and I hope that the tolerance and goodwill of Ghanaians towards people from overseas may have some effect in persuading non-Africans in

other parts of the Continent to adopt more humane attitudes towards our fellow Africans."

The Next Five Years

The *Accra Daily Graphic* (February 21, 1958) reported that the Government planned to spend a total of £100 million on development over the next five years. The Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, said that the period—to be known as the second development plan—will begin on July 1, 1959, and the amount is expected to cover the cost of all the carefully calculated and planned projects to be undertaken during that period.

The Prime Minister said that in an effort to break the deadlock over the negotiations for the Volta River Project, he had approached, personally, President Eisenhower who had offered to use the good offices of the United States Government in examining possible ways under which the scheme might be started. The Government, Dr. Nkrumah went on, had gladly accepted this offer, but, before taking any further steps, they wished to have a general review with Aluminium Limited (of Canada), the company which had, so far, been principally concerned with the scheme and which held bauxite concessions. This review would take place shortly. "It is my strong belief that the Volta River Project provides the quickest and most certain method of leading us towards economic independence," he stated.

The Prime Minister said that now political independence had been achieved the Government were determined to achieve economic independence. "It is our objective to develop our resources so as to produce a strong, healthy and balanced economy which will provide a prosperous and happy life for our people. Our economy still depends basically on a single crop, cocoa, and we will never be able to claim that we have achieved economic independence until we have reduced this vulnerability."

The Prime Minister said he hoped the Second Development Plan would be completed in sufficient detail within the next six to nine months for the House to be able to debate it before the current year. He emphasized that in building up the Plan, effective consultation with regional and local authorities would be arranged.

"We have to tackle agriculture boldly and fearlessly in all its aspects, giving it the greatest emphasis at our command.

"Cocoa remains the backbone of our economy, and every effort will be made to increase production and to improve quality.

"There are also crops to which we propose to pay special attention, as well as intensifying efforts to increase our production of meat and fish."

Dr. Nkrumah concluded: "We have done much in the past, but much more remains to be achieved in the future. Development is not an end in itself, but a means to an end."

New Talks on Volta Scheme

A director of Aluminium Limited (of Canada), Mr. M. B. de S. Pernes, has had talks with Ghana Government representatives on the Volta River Project. Among the Government representatives was Commander Sir Robert Jackson, chairman of the Development Commission.

The Industrial Reporter of the *Accra Daily Graphic* (March 1, 1958) wrote that the purpose of the talks was to give the aluminium companies a detailed picture of the nature and extent of possible United States assistance in the Volta Scheme following Dr. Nkrumah's personal approach to President Eisenhower.

Seven-State Conference

Seven African States have been invited to attend a conference of independent African States which is due to be held in Accra on April 15, 1958. A Government delegation led by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Ako Adjei, has visited these states to discuss technical details and other arrangements for the conference. The states which have accepted invitations to the conference are Egypt, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco and Liberia. Mr. Kofi Baako, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, has said that a conference of political parties in all African states might follow the Seven-State Conference.

Attitude Towards South Africa

Mr. Kofi Baako, speaking at a press conference in Accra, defined his Government's attitude towards the position of Africans in South Africa.

The Minister said that the ambition of the Government was for the total liberation of all dependent peoples, including Africans in South Africa. Mr. Baako stated: "We are interested in Africans in South Africa because they are Africans. We are opposed to *apartheid* and we shall do everything we can morally to influence the authorities to change their attitude." But he pointed out the Government would not interfere with the internal affairs of the South African Government. "We shall try to create a world opinion that will influence the South African authorities to give Africans their freedom," the Minister said. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, March 1, 1958.)

The Government and the Chiefs

The Government has decided to create eight new states in Ashanti and to recognize their present chiefs as paramount chiefs, the Minister of Local Government has announced. The announcement also said that the Government had decided that Offinso and Duayaw Nkwanta should cease to be states and their chiefs ceased to be recognized as paramount chiefs.

The Asantehene, speaking on the Government's announcement, said that according to customary law, the power to elevate and demote chiefs was vested in him, but it seemed the Government was trying to usurp this power.

The Asanteman Council adopted a resolution calling on the Government to reconsider its decision to create eight new states in Ashanti and withdraw recognition from two others. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, February 3, 18, 1958.)

Commenting editorially, *The Times* (February 5, 1958) said: "The power of the central Government in Ghana to remove or appoint chiefs is not clearly defined. . . . With the advent of the British Colonial Government, the District administration established a *de facto* veto over the appointment, and indeed the continuance in office of chiefs. . . .

"Now the situation is altered again. An African Government is in power. The official policy of this Government is to tolerate the chieftainship as an institution but to 'take the chief out of politics'. This is not an easily realizable objective. The chieftainship is embedded in the fabric of African society. The chief is by tradition the religious, political and military head of his people. In the course of years these functions have been modified. The military power went with the British. The introduction of elected local government councils in 1954 deprived the chiefs of most of their direct political and administrative influence. Yet their power in some parts of the country is still great. . . . The chief is the trustee of the land on behalf of his people and is therefore immensely powerful in his ability to allocate it and grant concessions in matters such as forestry. Most important of all, he is a perhaps indispensable link in the close-knit family and clan system which still persists in Africa in the bush and stretches out its tentacles into the towns and even into the far-off cities in Britain and America where Africans go to study and work. . . . In Ashanti the system reaches even farther, for the paramount chiefs are grouped together in the Asanteman Council, which is a statutory body, and all owe their allegiance to the head of the Ashanti nation and guardian of the Golden Stool, the Asantehene.

"The present rulers in Accra pay lip-service to this system—they can hardly do otherwise. But instinctively they regard it as reactionary, obstructive, and obscurantist. Many of them are western trained and have been outside the influence of this traditional social fabric for many years. In general, the 'young men', a phrase which in Africa has as political a connotation as *novus homo* in Cicero, have felt themselves excluded and humiliated by the chiefs and elders. The chiefs have reacted by plunging into politics, mostly in opposition to the Government. The fight has been fiercest in Ashanti. The Government has from time to time taken steps against particular chiefs, and this latest move in Ashanti is no doubt all part of the process. A determined central Government has many opportunities of weakening the chieftainship, but the fact that the chief derives his authority from beneath, not from above, makes him a prickly opponent both practically and constitutionally. It is perhaps not fanciful to see here a similarity with the attempts of secular Governments in Latin countries to eliminate the political influence of the parish priest."

Inquiry Into Asanteman Council Affairs

A Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of the Asanteman Council and

the Kumasi State Council has opened. Its terms of reference are: To inquire if there has been any abuse of power by the Kumasi State Council. To inquire into any financial transactions between the said councils and any political party or parties. To inquire whether stool property has been dealt with improperly by the said councils or by any of their officers or officials purporting to act on their behalf, and to inquire into such other matters as may be specified in any further commission and to report.

The Commissioner, Mr. Justice Sarkodee-Adoo, opening the inquiry said: "It must be understood that this is not a trial. It is not the institution of any prosecution calling for any defence, neither is it in the nature of a civil action at law. . . ."

The Commission's terms of reference are ones to which the Government requires the Commissioner to report his conclusions. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, February 18 and 19, 1958.)

Kumasi Elections

Elections for the Kumasi municipal council have given the Convention People's Party—the Government Party—seventeen seats out of twenty-four. In April last year, when the municipal council was dissolved and a committee of management appointed, the Opposition parties held sixteen seats. Twelve of these were held by the National Liberation Movement and the other four by the Muslim Association Party. These two parties joined in the merger towards the end of last year which resulted in the formation of the single Opposition Party, the United Party.

The significance of the defeat is that Kumasi has been the focal point of the only real opposition to the Government Party. (*The Times*, February 14, 1958.)

Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, Minister of Finance and C.P.P. Director of the election campaign, told a jubilant crowd after his Party was assured of control that the result proved that the Party was as strong as it had always been. Mr. Joe Appiah, chairman of the Ashanti Region of the U.P., congratulated the C.P.P. on its success. He said the results had been a shock to the U.P. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, February 14, 1958.)

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr. K. A. Busia, told a United Party rally at Kumasi that it was wrong for the Convention People's Party to draw the conclusion that the results of the recent municipal elections showed that the C.P.P. dominated Kumasi or Ashanti. Dr. Busia then urged members to stand firm and await the result of the probe into the Party's defeat at the elections.

Commenting on the results of the elections *West Africa* (March 1, 1958) said: "Organization had much to do with it. . . . But equally important probably was the difficulty of persuading voters that the United Party, which in addition to the N.L.M. absorbed the Northern People's Party, Togoland Congress, and the Ga Party in Accra, has the same relevance to Ashanti matters as the N.L.M. might have had. . . .

"C.P.P. supporters claim that recent deportations, by removing people responsible directly or indirectly for intimidation of C.P.P. voters, allowed the party to fight the election without fear. Naturally, the U.P. supporters allege some malpractice against the Government, but they have not suggested that such malpractice by itself could explain the result.

"The *Ashanti Pioneer*, leading Opposition newspaper which is always outspoken, in a leader headed 'They Asked For It', accuses the Opposition of having been complacent. It includes recent threats which, it says, have been made by Mr. Krobe Edusei, Minister of the Interior, as a cause of the C.P.P. victory and alleges also that there were other C.P.P. threats. But the paper makes it plain that it is dissatisfied with the Opposition's campaign.

"Everybody concerned must be congratulated on the relative orderliness of the election."

New Structure for T.U.C.

Ghana's Trade Union Congress at its fourteenth annual conference adopted in principle a proposal to merge the Congress's sixty-four affiliated unions into sixteen national unions. The Conference deferred a decision on the adoption of a proposed new draft constitution for the T.U.C.

During the debate on the proposed new structure for the T.U.C., Mr. Foeve, general president of the Ghana Mines Employees Union, said that although it would be selfish of his union to oppose the new plan, his union did not want a structure based on the Israeli, American or British

pattern or, for that matter, on that of any other country. All miners wanted, he said, was a structure which would have a "true Ghana setting".

Earlier, the Minister of Labour and Co-operatives, Mr. N. A. Welbeck, told delegates: "I presume that the changes necessary to bring about the reorganization will be voluntary and that it is not your intention to seek Government intervention or regulation to introduce these changes by legislative action. The Government would be acting wrongly and exceeding its proper functions if it attempted to impose these changes in individual unions by legislative action. Such action would be contrary to the International Labour Organization Convention," he declared.

In his address to the convention the Prime Minister, Dr. Nkrumah, said he would ask the Government to erect a "Palace of Labour" as a monument to workers for the part they played during Ghana's struggle for independence. He said that the Government would give material support to help the trade union movement to develop in Ghana. Dr. Nkrumah added that he would invite the T.U.C. to join hands with the United Ghana Farmers' Council and the Co-operative Movement to form what he called "a grand alliance". "With trade unionists taking an active part in control and management of our State and semi-State enterprises our workers will develop a greater sense of responsibility and the voice of Labour will be heard and respected throughout the land," he said. (*West Africa*, February 1, 1958.)

Mr. K. K. Tettegah, general secretary and treasurer of the T.U.C., said: "In our view Ghana life must be militarized, not for war but for peace. Not for destruction but for service, not for aggression but for production, not for feudalism but to free our people's minds of a colonial mentality. We are advocating temporary discipline that will unite the nation, sweep out tribal cobwebs, and place the feet of our people on the base of reality." (*The Times*, January 27, 1958.)

C.P.P. Appeal

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, life chairman of the Convention People's Party, has launched the Party's appeal for £500,000. He promised to pay 1,000 guineas to the fund within six months, the first instalment being £100. Total donations promised as announced at the rally was a little over £51,000 of which £33,000 was in cash.

In launching the appeal, Dr. Nkrumah said that according to parliamentary ethics, the Government was not the same as the Party. But his Government had as its aim to create a stable, solid and impregnable Government. To enable them to achieve that aim it was imperative for the party in power to have its own central headquarters, to enable officials to have room to plan, consolidate and to organize for the future reconstruction of Ghana. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, February 3, 1958.)

Three More Deportations

A woman and two men described as persons whose continued presence is not conducive to the public good have been deported. The woman, Madam Goma, is a small trader living in the Muslim quarter of Kumasi, and the two men live at Cape Coast, about 80 miles west of Accra. Madam Goma said on arrival in Nigeria that she was born in Kumasi and although her parents came from Kano, Northern Nigeria, she had never before visited Nigeria. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, February 3, 1958.)

English in Schools

Mr. Kofi Baako, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, has said that the Government intends to order the teaching of English from the very beginning in primary schools. English is now only taught from the fourth class. The Government has also decided that the English language should be widely and effectively taught throughout Ghana. Meanwhile a controversy has been going on as to whether English or one of the vernacular languages should be adopted as the medium of instruction in Ghana schools. (*Manchester Guardian*, March 1, 1958.)

Investment Advisory Committee

The Government has appointed a four-man committee, headed by Lord Piercy, to advise on the investment of the Government's sterling assets and Cocoa Marketing Board funds, in the light of financial requirements over the next few years. Lord Piercy is connected with several industrial

organizations in the United Kingdom. He is the chairman of the Industrial and Commercial Finance Corporation Ltd., a director of the Bank of England, chairman of the National Youth Employment Council and president of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology. He is also a member of the General Advisory Council of the B.B.C.

The report of the committee is expected at the end of June. Other members are Lord Rennel of Morgan Grenfell, Mr. Alfred Eggleston, Governor of the Ghana Bank, and Mr. L. Goldschlager. The face value of the Government and Cocoa Marketing Board fixed interest securities, excluding treasury bills, is £104 million. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, February 28, 1958.)

The University College

Dr. Roland Oliver, writing in the *Manchester Guardian*, February 1, 1958, reviewed the first ten years of the University College of Ghana. He said that the founding principal, Mr. David Balme, thought that a university in Africa should be not merely a place of instruction and research, but a home fit for scholars to live in and bear each other company, and a school of manners which should bind its junior members by strong ties of sentimental attachment, and send them out with an enduring vision of the elegant life. Even more than on the lecture-theatre and the laboratory, the emphasis was to be on the dining-hall, the common-room, and the individual "tutorial" given in the teacher's own room or private house. The professors with their departments were not to dominate the scene, but were to find strong rivals in the masters, tutors, and councils of the collegiate halls, who would never forget that the primary purpose of the place was to provide civilized leaders in Church and State.

He continued: "At present there are 150 senior members to 450 junior members. The cost is nearly £2,000 per student a year. And Ghana is getting out of it perhaps sixty secondary schoolmasters and thirty Civil Servants of the administrative class. In ten years' time the throughput may be quadrupled and the cost per student halved, but for the moment it must seem a high price to pay. . . . At present the University College of Ghana is still in 'special relationship' with the University of London, which controls the syllabuses and examinations, and which awards London degrees. Within a very few years public opinion must demand that the college should become a university in its own right and stand on its own feet. . . . The only pity is that the college was not founded ten years earlier than it was. It might then have numbered among its alumni a more substantial proportion of the men in power. As it is, the first big round of meteoric promotions following upon the Africanization of the Civil Service has found the oldest of the college's graduates still too young for the key posts. Moreover, there survives from the British régime an unfortunate practice of 'bonding' all Government scholars to serve the Government for five years, either as schoolmasters or Civil Servants."

Nigeria

The Minorities Commission¹

"SENEX" writing in *New Commonwealth* (February 3, 1958) described the position facing the Minorities Commission which, under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Willink, was then at work in Nigeria. He said: "In each of the present Regions there is a tribe which is much larger than the others: and in the north there is the additional complication of a large Mohammedan population. The members of the smaller tribes think that they are not getting their proper share of the Government cake, that their needs are not sufficiently recognized and considered by those in power—who naturally tend to come largely from the dominant tribe—and that others are being developed at their expense. And the non-Muslims think that they are looked down on by the Muslims.

"Superficially there does not at present seem to be adequate evidence that these fears are correct, but they have been forcibly and frequently expressed, and it is the duty of this Commission to go into the whole matter." The Commission may recommend the creation of not more than one new Region in respect of each existing Region.

¹DIGEST V, 4.

"Though it must be accepted that the current boundaries within Nigeria are not only of recent date but also arbitrary, they have achieved a substantial validity over the years of this century. There were separate governments for the North and the South until 1914. Thereafter, though technically and legally amalgamated into one Nigeria, administrative practice continued to be different in detail and indeed to some extent in principle (e.g. taxation). When the South was split into the Eastern and Western Groups of Provinces for administrative reasons in 1939, new distinctions arose and developed so that there are three quite different administrations, one for each area known since 1947 as Regions. This may not seem important, but it has a binding effect on the people, and a considerable body of practice and precedent has been built up within each area and of course complete government machines have been made to measure in each case."

"Senex" went on to describe the various proposals put forward as they affect each region. In the Western Region where Yorubas predominate, the Ibos who live mostly in the eastern part of this Region, and some of the peoples of the Benin and Delta provinces also to the east of the Region, want to cut away from the Yorubas. It is also suggested that the Colony of Lagos, which was for a brief period part of the Western Region but is now Federal territory, should become a Region on its own. The Western Region Government, however, wish to absorb it into their Region again.

In the Eastern Region where Ibos predominate numerically some of the people of the two eastern Provinces of Ogoja and Calabar and the more southerly Rivers Province wish to form their own Region.

The Northern proposals are for the formation of a new "middle belt" Region which would extend more or less across the whole country, taking in the southern half of the Northern Region. Here the people are not Hausas and are, for the most part, non-Muslim. The Northern Government is opposed to the idea, and the Opposition is divided in its views.

One of the Northern opposition parties think that the whole of Nigeria should be divided into twelve or more states of more or less equal size—presumably by population—and this follows an idea of Dr. Azikiwe's of the same kind. The effect would be to give power back to the Centre and reduce the authority of the Regions.

There are also demands for the revision of the regional boundaries now in existence. The Western Region say that they have a strong claim to Ilorin Province and wish at least the southern (or Yoruba) part to be handed over to them from the North.

The various parties giving evidence before the Commission are represented by Counsel.

Lord Ogmores is holding a watching brief for the Eastern Regional Government. Mr. Dingle Foot, Q.C., represents the Rivers People and Chiefs and the United Muslim Party, and Mr. Christopher Shawcross, Q.C., the Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers State Movements.

Chief Rotimi Williams, Minister of Justice in the Western Region, in a statement to the Commission, said that all the fears expressed by the leaders of the Mid-West State Movement were ill-founded. He asked that the State should be created, but asked that it should exclude the Yoruba elements in the Region, and urged the Commission to consider the issue realistically before arriving at a decision on the creation of more States in the country.

Mr. Foot said that his clients' fears had been increased by statements made by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Premier of the Western Region. He said that Muslims formed a substantial force in Nigeria and their fears in the Region arose out of the general form of administration in the West, out of events since 1953, when the Regional Assemblies had been set up, and the "hostility" recently shown by the Premier of the West towards Muslim organizations in the Region. He outlined various safeguards that would be acceptable and said that the religious safeguards contained in the Constitution of Ceylon should be written into the Nigerian Constitution.

The Minister of Finance, Eastern Region, Dr. E. S. Imoke, said that the people of Ogoja Province did not wish to be included in the proposed Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers State. The province has a population of 1,082,000. Giving evidence for the Ogoja State Movement, he said that the people wanted the existing system of administration, but in the event of the country being divided into more States they would like to be constituted

into an Ogoja State as a last resort. They were unwilling to be incorporated in the proposed C-O-R State because their area was under-developed and their interest would best be served if they remained together as a unit.

Mr. Shawcross said that the main fear of his clients lay in their perpetual subjection to the Ibos. The people of the area had much in common among themselves and much in common in their antagonistic attitude towards the Ibos. Later, when the Commission had moved to Calabar, he said the Eastern Nigeria Government was rapidly heading towards a totalitarian form of government and police state. This would result in the oppression of the minorities and corrupt administration. The new system of local government in the East was the first step towards dictatorial government. Having discussed the dangers arising from Dr. Azikiwe's powers, Mr. Shawcross referred to the White Paper in which had been set out the determination to alter the basis of local elections from adult to tax suffrage. The White Paper in which the C-O-R State was described as a seditious idea had been withheld from debate until after the sittings of the inquiry; he added that it was also the case of the Movement that there was undue influence, bribery and nepotism in the Eastern Region.

Electoral Reform Discussed

The Governor-General, Sir James Robertson, presided at an "Ad Hoc" meeting of the Constitutional Conference held in Lagos to deal with some of the matters left unresolved by the constitutional talks held in London in May and June, 1957. Sir James told the meeting that it would consider the Report of the Committee on proposals for an electoral law for the Federation and the Report of the Committee to inquire into the functions of the Federal Marketing Boards. It would not deal with any other Report, for instance, of the Delimitation Commission, the Fiscal Commission and the Minorities Commission. The resumed Conference, he went on, would be held later in the year to deal with those matters when the Commissioners had completed their work and submitted their reports.

An official statement issued after the talks said "the conference, during the examination of the Report of the Committee on Federal Electoral Law, considered in detail the draft Federal electoral regulations and in doing so made various recommendations regarding the qualifications of candidates, the residential qualification of voters and the functions of registration and electoral officers, and agreed the regulations as so modified, with a view to their being presented to the Council of Ministers. A comprehensive report on the meeting will be published in due course. (*West Africa*, February 15, 1958.)

Governor-General Continues in Office

Extension of Sir James Robertson's term of office as Governor-General has been expected for some time, as his original appointment expires this year. Mr. Lennox-Boyd has now decided to make the extension, and to make it indefinite, as was done in the case of Sir Charles Arden-Clarke in the Gold Coast. Presumably it is thought that, as in Sir Charles's case, a definite date would be taken to indicate some Colonial Office intention with regard to self-government; in addition the coming years will be so full of constitutional discussion that it would be unwise to commit the Colonial Office to a change at any particular date. (*West Africa*, February 1, 1958.)

Opposed to Independence

A new political party has been formed. It is the *Egbe K'Oyinbo Mailo* and it is opposed to Nigeria becoming independent in 1960. Its aim is continuance of British rule which, it claims, will "minimize the burden of unnecessary rules and regulations imposed by our African legislators on taxpayers by the menace of regionalization". The party, led by Chief J. I. N. Sofolahan, the Bamolu of Iporu, Abeokuta, is against regionalization. Chief Sofolahan is reported to have said "we have not the economic resources to support self-government yet". (*West Africa*, February 1, 1958.)

Call for Overseas Aid

The Federal Minister of Finance, Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, has complained that staunch friends of Western democracies were "ignored" in the disbursement of foreign aid while countries flirting with the Communist block were given every assistance.

Chief Okotie-Eboh said that Nigeria was a credit-worthy country and had demonstrated her capacity to finance development from her own resources. This was all the more reason why Nigeria could fairly claim a fair deal from the world at large "now that her own immediate resources are likely to prove inadequate for the development work which we all wish to go forward". The impression was sometimes created "that those countries which have been less frugal than Nigeria and less careful in conserving their resources get financial assistance by the mere fact that they have no resources of their own".

The Minister continued: "There is no likelihood of Communist infiltration here in Nigeria, for the Communist ideology is wholly alien to our traditional ways of living and of thought. But there are occasions when we cannot help contrasting the massive financial aid which is poured into countries which are in danger of joining the Communist block, particularly by the Government of the United States."

As an encouragement to investment in industrial enterprise the Minister announced a reduction from 9s. to 8s. in the flat rate of company income tax. An initial allowance against profits of 20 per cent of the cost of industrial buildings will be granted, with an annual allowance of 10 per cent. Non-industrial buildings will qualify for a 5 per cent annual allowance only. At present, buildings generally qualify for a 25 per cent initial allowance and a 10 per cent annual allowance. (*Manchester Guardian*, February 24, 1958.)

"No West African politician is more staunchly anti-Communist than Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh. When such a man reproaches the Western world for giving the impression that a country has only to flirt with Communism for substantial aid to be forthcoming . . . he must be listened to." (*West Africa*, March 1, 1958.)

Trade Policy

Dr. K. O. Mbadiwe, the Federal Minister of Commerce and Industry, has said that the objective of his ministry is to provide businessmen with a really effective and up-to-date framework of law and institutions in which their activities might find proper scope to develop. Much of their commercial legislation was obsolete, he remarked. Like old machinery, it must either be scrapped or overhauled.

It was also the Minister's intention to see that Government controls over imports and exports are so administered that they offer the least possible obstacle to trade. He had therefore decided to issue import licences to cover the full year in order to help businessmen to plan ahead.

The Minister made it clear that he hoped to help African traders, not at the expense of expatriate traders, but so as to enable them to bring themselves up to the standard of the best business practice. He said: "Two requirements have already come to my notice: the first is the need to supplement the credit facilities which are provided by the banks for the import/export trade. I have in mind a system whereby the Government, in association with private enterprise, will set up a form of Import Credit Guarantee Corporation. The second is the establishment of really effective trade associations, which will not only give their members the benefit of corporate facilities, but represent their members in negotiations with Government."

The Federal Government's part, he said, was in creating conditions in which capital and enterprise do not remain idle, each for want of the other: and, since in Nigeria both need to be supplemented from outside, to devise measures to attract them. Among these are the relief from income tax to pioneer industries, and the relief of industrialists from import duty on imported materials.

Among the principal projects the Minister said he was now undertaking were the appointment of three committees. The first will consider what further help should be given to African businessmen; the second will examine the whole field of the tourist trade; while the third committee will examine the possibility of a permanent trade exhibition centre. (*West Africa*, January 25, 1958.)

Development of Oil Industry

Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Prime Minister of Nigeria, started the engine pumping into the 18,000-ton tanker *Hemifusus* the final barrels of

the first bulk shipment of Nigerian petroleum. The shipment, 9,000 tons, is the firstfruits of a search for oil which began twenty-one years ago and has so far cost more than £27 million.

The Shell-B.P. Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria, jointly owned by the Royal Dutch-Shell group and British Petroleum, Limited, has been making the search, and, by increasing the pace and cost of its activity in Nigeria, has made this the Shell group's biggest exploration venture outside America.

The hopes of many Nigerians are pinned on the project, which if successful could bring great benefits to the country—especially the Eastern Region. But, although the first cargo of oil sounds large, experts insist that the right answers must be found to many questions before production of Nigerian oil can be considered a profitable commercial venture.

Drilling of the company's first exploration well in Nigeria began in September, 1951. Since then, two oilfields and one small gas field have been found. (*The Times*, February 17, 1958.)

Improvements in Higher Education

Extension of the scheme of special relationship between the University of London and University College, Ibadan, to include a Department of Engineering of the University College, sited at the Zaria branch of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology, is one of the several recent developments in higher education in Nigeria. The Principal of the Nigerian College of Technology, Dr. C. A. Hart, will occupy, in an honorary capacity, the Chair of Engineering in addition to his duties as Principal. It is felt that these arrangements will ensure that at the College of Technology the needs of Nigeria for qualified engineers and qualified engineering scientists can be met for years to come.

The department of Anaesthetics of University College Hospital, Ibadan, has been recognized for the training of Post Graduates for higher qualification granted by the Faculty of Anaesthetics, Royal College of Surgeons (England). The hospital's Medical School has been recommended to the Senate of the University of London for recognition for clinical training leading up to the M.B., B.S., Degree of London. The recognition will be for a probational period of three years, which began in January 1958.

A five-year residential course in architecture has started at the Zaria branch of the Nigerian College of Technology. A College Diploma in Architecture is awarded to successful students. The Enugu branch has established an intermediate course in Science. (*West Africa*, February 8, 1958.)

N.C.N.C. Hold Special Convention

More than 100 delegates from all parts of Nigeria attended a Special Convention of the N.C.N.C. Mr. R. A. Njoku read an address by Dr. Azikiwe, who was prevented from attending.

Speaking on the issue of independence, Dr. Azikiwe said that without prejudice to whatever may be the plans of the Federal Government and other political parties, the N.C.N.C. must take the initiative and contribute its share, as a virile political organization, to the progress of the country. The Party must let the country know what the federal electorate should expect from it, should they entrust the N.C.N.C. with the responsibility of national leadership. He said the N.C.N.C. had been in the vanguard of the struggle for political freedom ever since it was founded in 1944.

On Commonwealth Affairs, he said that the Party must emphasize the country's willingness to remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations, so long as Nigerians were treated as equals, and provided nothing was done to undermine their authority or soil their integrity as a nation.

On Defence, he said that Nigeria should aim at creating a respectable Army, Navy and Air Force, armed with the most modern weapons and manned in the main by Nigerians, assisted by non-Nigerians until they were able to Nigerianize the fighting services completely.

There should be a radical change of policy in industrial relations in Nigeria. A National Minimum Wage should be calculated from what he called a "Poverty Datum Line".

He said he would like to see the meeting of Regional Premiers revived. He also wanted a common platform where subjects like the National Flag and the National Anthem should be decided before independence. (*News from Nigeria*, February 1, 1958.)

County Councils in Eastern Region

A White Paper on self-government presented to the Eastern House of Assembly by the Premier, Dr. the Hon Nnamdi Azikiwe, stated that the Region is to be split into sixteen Provinces and the present District Councils are to be known as County Councils. Government will devolve its powers to these Provinces "in such a way as to empower them to exercise a greater measure of control over their local affairs".

Single Member Constituencies are also proposed in the White Paper. Each County Council area with a population of not less than 75,000 is to have one representative in the Eastern House of Assembly. But certain minority areas with fewer inhabitants such as Andoni, Bonny, Ikot Ekpene, Okrika, Calabar Western District, Opobo and others, will be represented in spite of their numerical inferiority. The number of seats in the House of Assembly will consequently be increased from eighty-four to 124 and to effect this, an amendment to the Nigeria (Constitution) Order in Council, 1954, will be sought.

The abolition of the present three-tier system of local government is proposed. It will be replaced by a two-tier system consisting of County Councils and Local Councils. Each County Council area is to comprise inhabitants who stem from the same ethnic group, speak the same language, and have a common cultural affinity. (*Eastern Nigeria Today*, January, 1958.)

Capital Investment in the East

The Minister of Commerce in a statement on overseas investment in the Eastern Region said: "We are fully conscious that very large sums of money are required to bring the Region to a state of preparedness to take its place amongst the independent nations of the world. We also realize that as our standard of living increases we must find increasingly large amounts of money from our own resources."

The Minister said: "The introduction of income tax was partly because the conclusion had been reached that the burden of our progress was dependent upon accepting the challenge of direct taxation, and partly because it is accepted that one of the prerequisites of overseas investment is financial stability. In the first year we collected no less than £2.6 million, which in itself is no mean achievement."

He continued: "The other main purpose of this Law was to lay the foundation for the mobilization of domestic capital."

"We are very conscious that if overseas investors are to invest in our Region they must be assured not only of our ability to execute our plans, meet all charges in respect of any such loans, but also to be fully satisfied that the political and moral intentions of the Government of the Eastern Region are such as not to indulge in activities leading to the appropriation of overseas assets. It is not the intention of the Government Party of the Eastern Region of Nigeria to indulge in any activities likely to lead to the nationalization of overseas assets within our territory."

The Minister then made a plea for overseas investment. (*Eastern Nigeria Today*, January, 1958.)

Rioting Over School Fees

Sir James Robertson, the Governor-General, invoked emergency powers in areas of Eastern Nigeria where disturbances broke out over the restoration of school fees.

It was announced in the Eastern House of Assembly on February 13, 1958, that the free primary education scheme would henceforth apply only to infant classes, and pupils in all other classes would pay fees of from ten to thirty shillings a quarter.

Dr. Azikiwe, the Prime Minister, told the House that during 1956 when preparations for the scheme were being made, the original estimate of £2,880,000 was exceeded within six months by £2,560,000. In 1954 there were 3,987 primary schools with 660,000 children: last year there were 6,656 schools and 1,300,000 children. The House subsequently approved these changes in the scheme by sixty-two votes to eleven.

Describing the situation Mr. Lennox-Boyd said police reinforcements had been sent into the Region. Action taken by the Regional Government had been endorsed by the Federal Council of Ministers, and had had the effect of restraining violence. One man was killed on the only occasion

when the police had had to open fire, and one man had since died. (*Manchester Guardian*, February 19 and 25, 1958.)

The Governor-General lifted the state of emergency in some areas on February 24, 1958, and in the remaining areas a week later.

Dr. Azikiwe said that "greed, avarice and the lack of public spirit of tax evaders" had almost brought the Government's universal primary education scheme to grief. (*West Africa*, February 22, 1958.)

Ministers' Salaries Cut

Salaries of Ministers in Eastern Nigeria, including that of the Premier, Dr. Azikiwe, are to be cut by 10 per cent. At present the Premier is on a basic salary of £4,000 a year, and that of his Ministers is £3,000 a year. Salaries of parliamentary secretaries are also to be reduced by 10 per cent—from £1,500 to £1,350. The Government Chief Whip and the Leader of the Opposition are not affected and salaries of members of the Eastern House of Assembly will remain at £800.

Announcing the cuts Dr. Azikiwe said: "We feel that we who have been in the forefront of nationalist government should set an example in economy."

The Eastern Nigerian Government budgeted for £14.29 million for 1957-8. Actual revenue for the first half of the fiscal year (April 1 to September 30, 1957) was £5.08 million and expenditure to £6.42 million. (*West Africa*, January 18, 1958.)

British Cameroons

Political Advance Envisaged

SIR ANDREW COHEN (United Kingdom) addressing the U.N. Trusteeship Council said that before Nigeria became fully independent the Cameroonians would have an opportunity to express their views in regard to their future constitutional status.

Mr. J. O. Field (Special Representative for the Cameroons) explained that to all intents and purposes the Southern Cameroons now had a full status within the Federation of Nigeria, with a Premier and Ministers being responsible for the various Government departments. The Southern Cameroons House of Assembly would be enlarged to twenty-six members, elected by secret and universal adult suffrage. The present House consists of thirteen elected members, six Native Authority members, three official and one special member with the Commissioner of the Cameroons as President.

Mr. Mason Sears (U.S.A.) and Mr. T. J. Natarajan (India) praised the work of the U.K. Administration, but Mr. U. Tin Maung (Burma) said that the Administration had succeeded in "fragmenting" the Cameroons and frustrating nationalist sentiment.

In reply to various questions, the representative of the administering power explained that the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (U.P.C.) had been banned together with certain Communist literature, because its activities were believed to be "dangerous to the good government of Nigeria". The decision had been taken on the advice of councils with a large elected representation of the people. The Soviet representative described this as a "flagrant violation" of the rights of the inhabitants, while the delegate of Guatemala thought the future would show that these measures had been "neither just nor wise".

Asked whether there was any feeling of unity between the people in Southern and Northern Cameroons, Mr. Field said that there was no natural feeling of kinship, that they were not of the same ethnic groupings and had different languages and customs. He also explained that there were no natural trade routes between the north and the south, and that any flow of trade between them would depend on the construction of roads. (*U.N. Information Centre*, March 3, 1958.)

A special two-day meeting of the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly, summoned to discuss constitutional matters, was held in February. The immediate introduction of a ministerial system of Government was called for by Mr. N. N. Nbile, Deputy Leader of the Kamerun People's Party, which is in alliance with the Government Party, the Kamerun National Congress.

This was followed by a resolution calling for self-government within the Federation of Nigeria not later than 1959.

Both these resolutions were passed after the Opposition had walked out of the Chamber. Their leader, Mr. J. N. Foncha, said he would resist "to the last" the immediate introduction of a ministerial system and he and other members of the Opposition were not prepared to support the resolution calling for self-government because it implied that they wished to remain within the Federation.

Production Increases in 1957

A total of 3,121,268 stems of banana were shipped by the Cameroons Development Corporation during the period January to December 1957.

Production of palm oil and palm kernels during the same period amounted to 3,052. Seven tons of palm oil and 1,578.7 tons of palm kernels.

Total production of rubber was 4,159,239 lb. (*News from Nigeria*, February 1, 1958.)

Sierra Leone

Step Towards Independence

THE House of Representatives has approved by "an overwhelming majority" the Government's White Paper on proposals for constitutional change. In proposing the motion asking the House to give its approval, Dr. M. A. S. Margai, the Chief Minister, said he knew he was really pushing "our well-beloved country towards its goal, which is independence".

The step that Sierra Leone was about to take meant that there would be no expatriate, but all Sierra Leonians, to advise the Governor. Referring to criticism that the Government had not given a date for independence in its proposals, Dr. Margai said it was not absolutely necessary to have written it into the proposals. He did not think it would be very long before the country achieved independence; it was moving slowly but surely, but much depended on the type of people elected to serve in the House of Representatives. (*West Africa*, February 15, 1958.)

Economic Position

Mr. Mcleod Smith, the Financial Secretary, summing up Sierra Leone's financial prospects, indicated that the illicit diamond boom was really petering out at last and that Sierra Leone was beginning to experience a period of painful re-adjustment. This, unfortunately, has come just at a time when recurrent public expenditure is rising steeply in many sectors, and the country's exchequer could well have done with another increase in import duty revenue, which has, in the past, proved such a faithful mirror of the diamond boom.

West Africa (March 1, 1958) said that the bare outlines of Sierra Leone's finances confirm the Financial Secretary's caution: although, in 1957, the surplus reached nearly £750,000 (twice the estimate) and the country's reserves at the end of 1957 had, as a consequence, increased to £3.7 million, development funds are quite insufficient for the existing development programme, whose cost is conservatively estimated at £22.7 million. A part of the reserve funds could be used for development, but loans will have to be raised if the whole programme is to be carried out; yet loan charges, at present, are so heavy that Mr. Mcleod Smith could not foresee how they were to be met unless recurrent revenue could expand more rapidly than recurrent expenditure, and a margin become available for interest payments. However, he could hold out little hope of such a surplus on recurrent budget—at least for the next two or three years. Expenditure seems to be increasing faster than revenue, and merely to balance this year's budget, he has had to increase taxes.

In 1957, recurrent expenditure was £7.8 million (£648,000 higher than the original estimate), but for this year it is estimated at £9.1 million. An important item is the increase in the cost of the central government machine. The break-up of the secretariat into separate ministries has ended some of the economies in overheads which were achieved under the former system, said the Financial Secretary. "This," he added, "is an inescapable price to pay for constitutional advance, since Ministers must be given the proper tools to fulfil their constitutional duties." Ordinary

revenue in 1957 was £1 million more than the original estimate. The larger part of the increase is accounted for by customs duties, which totalled £5.1 million. Nearly half this sum came from duty on drink and tobacco. There is still not enough evidence to gauge the exact importance of the diamond industry to Sierra Leone's economy.

The real problem of Sierra Leone's planners now is to reorient the economy towards agriculture, and other productive enterprise; to replace some of the revenue which illicit digging has yielded with revenue from other sources; to prevent heavy increases in recurrent expenditure; and above all to finance the development programme. (*West Africa*, February 15, 1958.)

Surveying by Air

Airborne geophysical survey to assess mineral resources has begun, and will be conducted during the next five to six weeks over some 3,500 square miles of the southern part of the Protectorate, with an additional 500 square miles in Tonkolili District. The purpose of the survey is to obtain records of variations in the strength of the earth's magnetism. No complete geological survey of the country has ever been made, though Government geologists originally discovered the iron ore deposits at Marampa and Tonkolili. Ignorance of the country's diamond wealth was largely responsible for the unhappy situation which arose over the monopoly formerly enjoyed by the Selection Trust.

Fourah Bay Expansion

Mr. Grant, the Principal of Fourah Bay College, said that the first engineering students have been admitted to a preliminary course, and the full course would begin in October. Some students would be able to go on to full degree courses at King's College, Newcastle, while the rest would be able to acquire in Sierra Leone itself "near-professional" qualifications which would fit them for responsible posts in Sierra Leone as engineering assistants.

New General Science laboratories have been brought into use and Botany and Zoology laboratories are rising. But full degree courses "in a full range of science subjects" have had to be postponed for a year. Yet from next October Fourah Bay would satisfy what Mr. Grant considered the chief criterion of a true college—a proper balance between Arts and Sciences.

A Sierra Leonean gained last year the highest marks in philosophy of all first-year students in Durham University, while last year's results were, in general, the best for a long time. (*West Africa*, February 15, 1958.)

Mr. R. P. R. McGlashan, Director of Shell Company of West Africa and of Shell-B.P. Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria, has informed the Principal that the Shell Group of companies would like to offer an annual sum of £1,250 for a period of five years beginning in 1958, towards the cost of a lectureship in Applied Science at Fourah College. Mr. N. G. Voute, manager of Shell Company of West Africa's office in Freetown, covering Gambia, Liberia and Sierra Leone, has said that both companies making the offer hope to see a number of Fourah Bay students taking a special interest in industrial development in West Africa.

Gambia

Exceptional Groundnut Crop

GROUNDNUT producers will continue to receive the official producer price of £27 a ton only until March 7.¹ By then the Government considers that the bulk of Gambia's crop will have come in. After March 7 growers will receive a lower price—still to be determined "in the light of the quantity of nuts by that time purchased on behalf of the Gambia Oilseeds Marketing Board, and by world market prices". Purchasing will finally end on March 31.

The Government explains that it is forced to reduce the price because the large quantity of nuts purchased this season are proving too heavy a drain on the country's stabilization fund. When the producer price of £27 a ton was announced it was explained that because of poor world prices

¹DIGEST V, 4.

this would involve the stabilization fund in a subsidy of £2 a ton. The groundnut crop has now turned out to be exceptionally heavy—it may reach 90,000 tons—and, in addition, considerable quantities of nuts have been coming into the Gambia from the Senegal. There is a serious danger, says the Government statement, that the Gambia Oilseeds Marketing Board might find itself purchasing more nuts than it could safely handle, and the stabilization fund might find itself incurring serious financial loss. (*West Africa*, March 1, 1958.)

OTHER AFRICAN TERRITORIES

Belgian Africa

Capital Formation in the Congo

Belgian Congo (January 1958) reported that much of the wealth produced in the territory remains there, thus enabling the country to undertake development without external grants. This has enabled the Belgian Congo to build up a reserve fund of \$160 million. About half of all the capital invested in the Congo since 1887 has been provided by the Congo itself. The predisposition to reinvest in the Congo the income arising from businesses established there becomes, year by year, increasingly evident. In 1956, for example, no less than 64 per cent of the private capital invested in Congo businesses came from Congo sources. The activities of the Savings Bank, too, contribute to the growth of the national capital. In 1956 this institution was in charge of more than frs. 3,000 million (\$60 million) of which about a third came from native savings.

The Belgian Congo's total private and public investment in 1956 amounted to more than frs. 14,000 million (\$280 million). According to U.N.O. figures, the total movement of external capital into all underdeveloped territories—which have a total population a hundred times as large as that of Belgian Africa—did not exceed frs. 75,000 million (\$1,500 million).

French Africa

Conference of African Parties

A CONFERENCE to consider the unification of political parties in French Africa was held in Paris. Parties represented were: R.D.A. (Rassemblement Democratique Africain), M.S.A. (Mouvement Socialiste Africain), C.A. (Convention Africaine), M.S.U.S. (Mouvement Socialiste d'Union Senegalaise), P.S.E.M.A. (Parti Social d'Education des Masses Africaines), U.R.C.S. (Union Republicaine de la Côte des Somalis), a joint delegation of the parties in Mauritania, B.A.G. (Bloc Africain de Guinée), M.D.V. (Mouvement Democratique Voltaïque). There was an observer from M.E.S.A.N. (Mouvement de L'Evolution Sociale de l'Afrique Noire). Only the delegation of P.A.I. (Parti Africain de l'Indépendance) were excluded from the meeting, because "it was opposed to any kind of organic unity": its leader M. Majhemout Diop said that P.A.I. stood for "the rejection of a Franco-African community with an imperialist France and for the establishment of a broad front of anti-imperialist struggle to deliver their country from the colonial yoke".

The main conference agreed to the following as their minimum programme: every territory to have complete internal autonomy with an Assembly and a Government: the present French West Africa, the present French Equatorial Africa and every other group of territories to be democratically constituted Federations: there should be a Federal Republic bringing together France, the groups of territories and the territories outside the groups on the basis of free co-operation, absolute equality and the right of independence: the grouped and the ungrouped territories to have each a central autonomous government, responsible to a legislative assembly,

having complete internal sovereignty except over diplomatic relations, defence, currency, higher education and the magistracy which should be reserved to the Federal Republic.

The Federal Republic could create a Confederal Union to link it with any of the States which are already, or will become, independent.

It was agreed that in each territory the new united parties should take a new name, but there was no agreement as to what it should be. The territorial parties would be equally represented on the federal executive of the party. Once the agreement had been ratified by each of the parties during March, a second conference will be held at Dakar to put it into effect. (*Inter Afrique Presse*, February 21, 1958.)

Writing in *Figaro* (February 20, 1958) Max Olivier Lacamp said: "Several changes seem necessary, in particular, in the position of the governors. It would appear much more sensible to hand over the leadership of the territorial government to an African Prime Minister: the present system makes it possible to give France the blame for all the unpopular and restrictive measures that a government finds itself forced to take."

Russell Warren Howe (*Accra Daily Graphic*, February 28, 1958) said the conference "appears to leave the door open for a United States of West Africa. Or for similar developments elsewhere in Africa. The demand for a confederation, grouping three independent federal republics and France, replaces last year's more moderate call by the African parties for a simple federal system, with major powers vested in Paris. Under the new plan, the Franco-African Community would closely resemble the Commonwealth. The three 'republics' involved would group about 37 million inhabitants, or about the same population as Nigeria." He added: "As evidence of the 'new look' in French overseas policy, High Commissioner Jean Ramadier of the French-administered United Nations trust territory of the Cameroons, who was sent out earlier this year with a 'get tough' policy that has created a severe local political crisis, has been recalled to Paris and replaced by M. Xavier Torre, who was Secretary-General (Civil Secretary) of French West Africa."

"Visitors to Accra from French territory are unanimous that 'all this means independence in a few years', and point to Ghana independence as the spark which lit the torch of freedom in Africa."

Senegal Government Programme

M. Marmadou Dia, Prime Minister of Senegal and leader of the *Bloc Populaire Senegalais*, made an important statement of policy during the budget sessions of the Territorial Assembly, in the course of which he said: "The Government knows that under the *loi-cadre*, it has only incomplete and insufficient powers. . . . At this time of vital choice, it will not be content to let itself be bound by some regulation or another. It would be a complete paradox if total responsibility did not also mean total liberty. We claim and we shall assume both. . . . Everyone should become aware of the Revolution in which we are living and which imposes new duties upon us. It is no longer a matter of playing the game of the *loi-cadre* by perpetuating the old tricks. On the contrary we must effect a complete change, and raise ourselves to the level of the demands of the hour which is the hour of internal autonomy and the road to independence. . . ."

M. Dia referred to the attempts his Government was making to democratize the chiefdoms by the holding of elections to fill vacancies and said they were aiming at "a progressive introduction of democratic institutions to take up, without a clash, the trail of ancient hierarchies. . . ." They would also introduce new legislation on the public service; for there had been consultation with the trade unions about this.

For the future every citizen would have to reconsider his duty to the country. The tree of colonialism was dead, the trunk was rotting away, but not all the roots had yet been pulled up. The new 'mystique' must be 'effort with discipline'. Only in this way could liberty be assured and the economy fully developed. The Government had had to balance the budget of expenditure as to 40 per cent for Production, 27.6 per cent for Social Services "which make the future which we are now preparing", and 22.3 per cent for infra-structure, that is to open up the country for private investment. Great expansion was planned in both the hospital and school programme. Twenty-five per cent of the children went to school; they were aiming to reach 40 per cent in four years.

Groundnuts remained the most immediate and urgent pre-occupation,

but they realized that their hope lay in a diversified economy and in finding a place for industry. M. Dia urged that the hydro-electric scheme at Dagara, estimated to cost £3½ million, should be carried out. The hesitant welcome given to this demand for capital investment could be a test of the sincerity of Metropolitan France, he said. (*Inter-Afrique Press*, January 24, 1958.)

End of Political Deadlock in Haute Volta

The Territorial Assembly met to consider the budget. For some months the Assembly's President, M. Nazi-Borni, had refused to convene the Assembly because of his opposition to M. Ouezzin Coulibaly, the present leader of the Government. M. Nazi-Borni is leader of the Volta Solidarity Party, which is composed of several smaller groups but is opposed to the Rassemblement Democratique Africain (R.D.A.) led by M. Coulibaly. Since the elections in March 1957 there have been regroupings of parties and changing of sides which led first to the R.D.A. losing its majority with thirty-seven seats in a house of seventy and more recently to its regaining with the return of five members to make up a total of thirty-six. Only these thirty-six members appeared at the meeting of the Assembly: in addition to dealing with the budget they also made modifications in regulations which would enable them to replace the President of the Assembly. (*Inter-Afrique Presse*, January 31, 1958.)

New Statute for Togoland

The French Togoland Prime Minister, Monsieur Nicolas Grunitzky, and M. Gerard Jacquet, Minister for French Overseas Territories, have signed in Lome the conventions for an amended Togoland statute.

Under the statute, worked out by M. Grunitzky, M. Jacquet and Senator Robert Ajavon, President (Speaker) of the Togoland Legislative Assembly, France will retain control only of foreign relations, defence and currency. Control of justice, public liberties and revision of the constitution so far as it concerns the Togoland authorities is transferred to the Togoland. The French High Commissioner will still nominate the Prime Minister, subject to approval by the Assembly, but he will no longer preside at the Council of Ministers, though he may attend it. Togoland will continue to be represented in the French Parliament. (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, February 27, 1958.)

Portuguese Africa

Forced Labour in Angola

THE *Manchester Guardian* (February 27 and March 19, 1958) reported that the secret trial in Lisbon of Captain Henrique Galvao, the 63-year-old writer, ended with a sentence of sixteen years' imprisonment. It concluded a long and bitter struggle waged by a Liberal against the Salazar régime. His trial, after seven years' imprisonment, is thought to be directly connected with the Portuguese administration of Angola, an East African territory of 480,000 square miles and a population of 4 million Africans and 80,000 Europeans. It has long been known that forced labour remains a key to Angola's whole economy. In 1947, while he was a supporter of the Salazar régime, Captain Galvao was sent to report on conditions in Angola. The report was never made public. But in 1949 copies of the report were circulated among the Opposition.

Galvao reported that conditions in Angola were worse than slavery. A slave was often in the past treated humanely by his master, since it was in his interest to maintain a healthy and strong servant. In Angola, he said, the Native is bought from the State. If he is sick and dies the master can apply for another from the State. The charge for which he has recently been tried is for "defamation" of the President and Prime Minister of Portugal. The Liberal Party in Britain registered a protest at this treatment of a fellow Liberal and its president, Mr. Nathaniel Micklem, sent a cable to the Portuguese President calling for the liberation of the accused.

Since it became a member of the United Nations in December 1955 Portugal has been continuously harried by African and Asian members to comply with Article 73(E) of the Charter, which provides that a member should transmit regularly to the Secretary-General, for information purposes, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to the

economic, social and educational conditions in non-self-governing territories for which the member is responsible.

In April 1957, and again in December 1957, resolutions calling indirectly upon Portugal to comply with the article both failed to obtain the requisite number of votes.

Galvao's trial after these years of imprisonment is seen as a final gag to any possible voice in favour of submitting reports to the United Nations on Angola and other Portuguese African territories. The Portuguese, however, put forward a further technical legal point. They say that they are not bound to comply with Article M3(E) since it is inapplicable to them. This argument is based on the proposition that Angola is not a non-self-governing colony but is an "overseas province" and part of the constitutionally unitary republic of Portugal. This hardly represents legal reality. The euphemism "overseas province" was only introduced in June 1951 by a decree-law No. 2048: previously the territory was known as *colonias*.

GENERAL

African Churches Meet

AN All-Africa Church Conference was held in Ibadan from January 11-20. The conference was attended by 200 delegates, 60 per cent of whom came from twenty-one of Africa's twenty-four countries. Two Roman Catholic priests were present as observers. The visitors included Mr. Alan Paton, the South African novelist, Dr. John Mackay of the International Missionary Council, and Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, general secretary of the World Council of Churches.

In discussions on Industrialization and Land it was shown that striking contrasts existed between different countries in Africa. West Africa seemed relatively free from problems that divided East and South Africa. Emotion was quickly aroused over the question of land, both in the group and in plenary sessions. The paper on the landless was variously interpreted. When Mr. F. Dain (Kenya) referred to "those other citizens of Africa", the children of white settlers in Kenya, for example, he aroused feelings. Sir Francis Ibiama made strong statements about the right of every African to own land if he wants it.

In the plenary session a resolution put by Dr. Alan Paton was passed that the Conference "believing that the land question in various countries of Africa is one of the greatest barriers to the achievement of racial peace, appeals to the World Council of Churches in collaboration with the International Missionary Council, to investigate and report upon the question so that the churches of Africa may be able with greater knowledge, wisdom and Christian charity, to endeavour to reach some common mind".

The group examining the "Church and Citizenship" commended the policy of allowing dependent territories to advance towards self-government to all Governments of the continent, "provided that the rights such as those set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are written into any new Constitution for existing and emergent States; and in particular those rights of citizenship which belong to man as created in the image of God, and those privileges, responsibilities and duties pertaining thereto, such as franchise rights, rights of participation in the Government of the country, freedom of worship, freedom to propagate the faith, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of movement, freedom of organization into trade unions, and the right of protection against violence."

The Conference endorsed the statement of the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches, in 1954, that "any form of segregation based on race, colour, or ethnic origin is contrary to the Gospel, and is incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the Church".

The Conference further called for vigilance wherever self-government is achieved, lest any of these rights be impaired, including the right of constitutional opposition without and within the Legislature.

The Report on "Culture and Religion" stated: "In Africa, Christianity has to relate itself to two systems which might be called Paganism and Islam. The former is not only a religion but also a pattern of life. Both Islam and Christianity attempt to bring the African out of paganism into a

monotheistic religion. They seem to use two different methods. Islam imposes certain forms of worship, which emphasize the doing of things. It is a 'justification by works' religion, but it does not disturb the essential pattern of life. Every Muslim trader is a missionary and many are ready to take every opportunity to talk about their faith. Islam is presented as the religion of the Coloured people. Acceptance of polygamy makes it easier for a polygamous society. The appeal of equality must not be underestimated. 'Islam's teaching and practice of equality between race and colour groups and its emphasis on the brotherhood of man also has its special attraction to the sensitive African.'" (Extracts from *Church Missionary Society Report*, January 27, 1958.)

Immigration and Passports

Mr. Dingle Foot (Labour), M.P. for Ipswich, was given consent to introduce a private member's bill by which a British subject or protected person who was declared a prohibited immigrant in any British colony, protectorate, mandated or trust territory or was refused a passport may appeal to an advisory committee set up to advise the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In his speech Mr. Foot referred to Mr. Basil Davidson, a well-known journalist, who had recently been refused entry to all the East and Central African territories, and to Mr. Erik Marles, who had lived for five years in Nambi and worked as town planner to the City Council and who was now required to leave, without any reason being given. Mr. Foot also referred to the refusal to give passports to African leaders from Uganda, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia who were invited to attend an international Socialist conference in Bombay.

Sir Leslie Plummer (Labour), M.P. for Deptford, raised the banning of Mr. Davidson in an adjournment debate. Both Mr. James Callaghan and Mr. James Johnson spoke, the latter mentioning the case of Mr. George Houser.¹

In reply Mr. John Profumo (Under Secretary of State for the Colonies) said that the Colonial Secretary was not prepared to make public the reasons why any individual was declared a prohibited immigrant and that each decision was reviewed and decided by the Governor-in-Council of the territory concerned. To have the decision reviewed in London would be contrary to the general trend of progressive devolution of authority to territorial governments.

Colonial Development Corporation Extended

By the passing of the Overseas Resources Development Bill, 1958, the borrowing powers of the Colonial Development Corporation were extended from £100 million to £150 million. During the debate the Government refused to extend the operations of the C.D.C. to any territory which became independent and also refused to change the Corporation's name to Commonwealth Development Corporation. Mr. James Callaghan (Labour) referred to the book of Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish economist, in which he claimed that the gap between the richer countries and the poorer countries was getting wider rather than narrower, because of the growth of population. He and other speakers mentioned the continuing need of investment for Ghana, Nigeria and other territories achieving independence. For the Government the Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. C. J. M. Alport, said they did not wish to divert the C.D.C. from the needs of colonial territories and also they did not want to interfere with the newly-won independence of the new dominions. (*Hansard*, February 5, 1958.)

Commonwealth Economic Conference

A second conference of Commonwealth economic officials will be held in London during 1958. A preparatory meeting has been held of officials, representing eleven countries (the ten sovereign nations of the Commonwealth and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland), with Sir Roger Makins, the leader of the British delegation, in the chair.

Their task is to prepare a draft agenda and to set up study groups to produce reports on a number of important matters. (*Manchester Guardian*, February 12, 1958.)

¹DIGEST, V, 1.

Egyptian Broadcasts

The Middle East Correspondent of *The Times* (January 28, 1958) discussed the increase in Egyptian broadcasts to East Africa. He said: "Cairo radio has broadcast to the Muslim fringe of north and east Africa for some years. . . . In 1957 a programme known as the Voice of Free Africa was heard in East Africa on two different frequencies. . . . When the Afro-Asian conference was in session in Cairo, the ordinary attributed programmes for East Africa began to be identified as the Voice of Free Africa from Cairo. . . . Broadcasts in Swahili can now be heard in the Belgian Congo and British East African colonies, and other broadcasts are directed to the horn of Africa in Somali and in Amharic. Transmissions in Ashanti to West Africa are expected to begin soon. . . .

"Sometimes the United States is mentioned as the 'second colonial master' or the 'colonialists' banker' but Britain, as the chief colonial power in Africa, gets most of the brickbats in these programmes. Although France receives her share of abuse in Cairo's Voice of Free Algeria and French language broadcasts to Europe. A more restrained and sometimes almost scholarly tone is evident in a new and supposedly independent publication—in which the English, French, Italian and Arabic languages are all employed—called *African Renaissance* which has offices in the same building as the African Association for African Students in Cairo. But its purpose is manifestly the same—to embarrass the colonial Powers. To questions about the propriety of their African propaganda Egyptians now unofficially offer a *tu quoque*, pointing to the personal abuse that issues from the Voice of Truth."

International African Seminars in Social Studies

The International African Institute, in collaboration with a number of centres of research and higher education in Africa, is to arrange a series of four international seminars in tropical Africa over the period 1958–61. It has been granted funds for this purpose by the Ford Foundation. The seminars will consider and report on social research problems of significance for further social, economic and educational development in Africa. They will also provide opportunities for research workers and other scholars holding posts in various parts of Africa to establish closer contact with each other and with their colleagues in Europe and America, and to exchange views on problems and methods of research. From fifteen to twenty persons will participate in each seminar.

It has been agreed that the successive seminars should be held in different regions, and offers for facilities for holding them have been made by the East African Institute of Social Research, Makerere College, Uganda; the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College, Ibadan, with the collaboration of I.F.A.N. and the University of Dakar; the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, with the collaboration of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute; and by the University of Lovanium, with the collaboration of I.R.S.A.C.

U.N. and Non-Self-Governing Territories

During the twelfth (1957) Session, the Fourth Committee of the U.N. has given special attention to the economic condition of non-self-governing territories.

In addition to a general review of economic conditions in non-self-governing territories over the period 1953/5, studies were prepared by the Secretariat of the United Nations on government measures to promote industry, progress of development plans, external trade and peasant societies in transition. The F.A.O. prepared a report on the diversification of agricultural production and U.N.E.S.C.O. a report on social aspects of industrialization in rural areas in Africa south of the Sahara.

Concern was expressed at the delay in making use of scholarships offered by member states to students for N.S.G. Territories.

An important constitutional debate took place on the principles which should guide the Administering Members in enumerating territories for which the obligation exists to transmit information under Article 73e of the Charter. A resolution asking for the preparation of a summary of the legal issues and opinions affecting this issue failed to get a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly.

U.N. Economic Commission

The U.N. Economic and Social Council has on its agenda consideration of the resolution by the General Assembly urging the setting up of an Economic Commission for Africa. This would be the fourth regional commission of the United Nations; the three already existing commissions operate in Europe (E.C.E.), Asia (E.C.A.F.E.), and Latin America (E.C.L.A.). An economic commission for the Middle East, though proposed, has not come into existence. If it is decided to establish the new commission, constitutional and practical questions will have to be considered, such as membership, geographical scope, location of headquarters, relations to existing organizations, staffing, financial implications, etc. (U.N. Release, January 20, 1958.)

BOOK LIST

(Recent acquisitions to the Africa Bureau Library)

W. ALPHAEUS HUNTON. *Decision in Africa*. International Publishers, New York. Gives picture of a variety of social structures and freedom movements from the Cape to the Mediterranean and describes the growing economic stake of American corporations in African industries. Contains maps and tables. (Price \$4.00.)

Living Conditions in Nigeria 1957. A booklet giving general data published by the Nigeria Office, London.

Parliamentary Institutions in the Commonwealth. H.M.S.O. A C.O.I. reference pamphlet dealing with Parliamentary institutions in the Member countries of the Commonwealth and in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. (Price 1s. 6d.)

South Africa's Treason Trial. A dramatic account of the arrests, together with a pictorial record of the accused. Sold in aid of their dependants and obtainable from "Afrika" Publications, P.O. Box 491, Johannesburg. (Price 2s. 6d. each. 1 doz. or more 2s. each post free. Cash with order.)

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The report of a recent visit made by a delegation, consisting of four Conservative and three Labour M.P.s from the United Kingdom Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. (Price 2s. 6d.)

BRENNECKE, GERHARD. *Brüder im Schatten (Brothers in the Shadows)*. Evangelische Verlaganstalt, Berlin 1956. (In German.) A report on his tour in South Africa by the Director of the Berlin Missionary Society, illustrated by his own photographs.

PISTORIUS, P. V. *No Further Trek*. Central News Agency, S. Africa, 1957. An essay which attempts to rethink the current Nationalist Afrikaner ideology in South Africa.

WOLFSON, FREDA. *Pageant of Ghana*. Oxford University Press, 1958. A valuable and well-produced anthology of descriptions of Ghana, ranging in time from the Portuguese travellers of the fifteenth century to Dr. Nkrumah, the present Prime Minister. (Price 30s.)

CARTER, GWENDOLEN M. *The Politics of Inequality*. Thames and Hudson, 1958. A massive political history of South Africa since 1948 by the Professor of Government at Smith College, Massachusetts, U.S.A. A useful bibliography and index. (Price 63s.)

Year Book of the United Nations 1956. U.N., 1957. The Tenth Yearbook gives a comprehensive account of the activities of the U.N. and its specialized agencies during 1956 and early 1957. (From H.M.S.O. Price £4 10s.)

Everyman's United Nations 1945/55. A ready reference book to the structure, formation and work of the U.N. and its agencies containing a wealth of material. (Available from H.M.S.O. price 11s.)

HARGREAVES, J. D. *A Life of Sir Samuel Lewis (1843/1903)*. A short but scholarly account of the first African to be knighted, a lawyer who might well be regarded as one of the founders of Sierra Leone. Oxford, 1958. (Price 6s.)

North and North-East Africa, 1951/57. Another in the series of annotated bibliographies compiled by Helen F. Conover and issued by the Reference Department of the Library of Congress, Washington, U.S.A. (Price \$1.35.)

Year Book and Guide to Southern Africa 1958; Year Book and Guide to East Africa 1958, edited by A. Gordon-Brown. The stock reference books containing a mass of useful facts and figures and also maps. Robert Hale. (Price 10s. 6d. (S.A.): 8s. 6d. (E.A.))

THOMPSON, DORIS, *Priest and Pioneer*. A memoir of Osmund Victor, C. R. A tribute to one of the pioneer members of the Community of the Resurrection who worked in South Africa and Rhodesia from 1910 to 1954. Faith Press. (Price 15s.)

Contact, Vol. I, No. 1. The first number of a new fortnightly journal. Edited by George Clay. The directors include Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Duncan and Mr. Alan Paton who, together with Christopher Gell and Harry Bloom, will be a regular contributor. (Subscription rates: Africa £1 per year. Overseas £1 3s. per year post free. P.O.B. 3618, Cape Town.)

Presence Africaine. Quarterly journal, text in French, obtainable, together with list of other publications, from 17 Rue de Chaligny, Paris XIIIe.

SOME NOVELS

PETER LANHAM. *The Road Awaits*. Collins, 1955. A sad story of the bitterness between English and Afrikaner in the Union, reduced to terms of personal rivalry and hatred.

REID, V. S. *The Leopard*. Heinemann, 1958. A vivid fictional account of a Mau Mau incident told by a new Jamaican author.

WINGATE, PETER. *Rain Doctor*. Heinemann, 1958. The story of a new medical officer in the Colonial Service and his adventures when he arrives in a typical East African area.

COPE, JACK. *The Golden Oriole*. Heinemann, 1958. A novel by a South African journalist discussing the fate of a young educated Zulu in the race riots in Durban.

The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents

AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

MISS JANE SYMONDS has been appointed Secretary of the Africa Bureau.

Constitutional changes and the introduction of a new franchise in the Federation of Central Africa have been the main preoccupation of the Africa Bureau during recent weeks. The Rev. Andrew Doig returned to Nyasaland shortly after the Commons debate on the Federal Electoral Bill. During his four-week visit numerous meetings and interviews were arranged in London, Manchester and Scotland, and Mr. Doig and Mrs. Grimond addressed a public meeting in London under the title *Nyasaland Looks to Britain*; Mr. Creech Jones, M.P., was in the chair.

The Africa Bureau Executive went on a deputation to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations to express their opposition to the franchise proposals. This view was also put by lobbying M.P.s and by a Press statement. A pamphlet entitled "Central Africa and the Franchise" (price 6d.) was widely circulated before the Commons debate. (See p. 167.)

Mr. Pascale Sokota, African Member of the N. Rhodesian Legislative Council, asked the Bureau's help while he was in London. During his visit he saw the Colonial Secretary and made known the views of African M.L.C.s on constitutional reforms for Northern Rhodesia. Arrangements

were also made for him to meet some members of the Press and to issue Press statements.

Members of the Executive and Staff met Mr. E. A. Vasey, Minister of Finance in the Kenya Government, and discussed the recent constitutional difficulties facing Kenya.

Mr. Tshekedi Khama (an Hon. President of the Bureau) and Mr. Seretse Khama were members of a Deputation from Bechuanaland led by Chief Rasebolai Kgamane. In addition to fulfilling the main purpose of their visit—entering into negotiations for mineral concessions—arrangements were also made for them to meet M.P.s and officials of the C.D.C. which runs an abattoir at Lobatse. Tshekedi Khama also visited the Department of Agriculture at the University of Reading.

Continuing the Background Facts series, a paper entitled "Sierra Leone and the Gambia" will be published in April, and it will be followed by one on Tanganyika, Zanzibar and Pemba.

Meetings have been addressed by the Rev. Michael Scott and members of the Bureau staff in London, Surrey, Sussex, Cambridge, Manchester and Buxton.



